

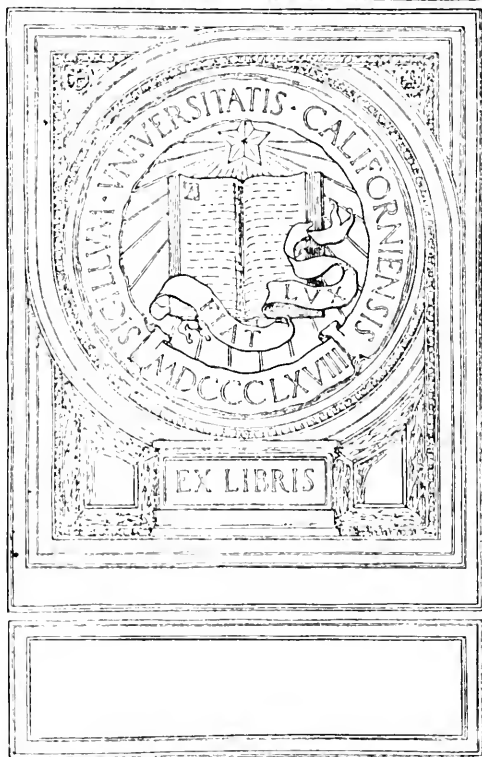
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SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES' STATUE.

Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles

Kt., LL.D., F.R.S.

Founder of Singapore

1819

AND

Some of his Friends and Contemporaries

By

J. A. Bethune Cook

Author of "Sunny Singapore,"

"Apa Suka, Tuan,"

etc.



London

ARTHUR H. STOCKWELL

29 LUDGATE HILL, E.C.

1918

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PREFACE.

The compiler and author of this book is chiefly indebted to the *Life of Sir T. Stamford Raffles* by his widow, Lady Raffles, but, he has culled from other reliable sources, to set forth the man, and those most closely associated with him, in his great and enduring work.

This has been a labour of love during a long residence, and a busy life in Malaya.

If it gives a tithe of the pleasure to its readers, which it has given to the writer, he will be amply repaid.

1932



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RAFFLES

CHAPTER I.

EARLY TRAINING.

THE work and worth of a truly great and good man will bear close and critical examination even after a century. Indeed, with the vision clarified by the lapse of time, the more correct perspective may be taken as, from a knowledge of subsequent events as well as a review of his time and circumstances, the objects appear in their relative series of importance, while they can be seen as a harmonious whole.

Raffles died young. He was only forty-five at his death, but what a life he lived, and what an amount of work worth doing he accomplished! Fully thirty years of his short life were spent in unremitting toil for the State, and for the Empire, of which he was a real master-builder. He was a man of many parts, who gave himself without stint to a great variety of most congenial objects—philology, geography, natural science, philosophy, religion and philanthropy. Not only the patron, but the participant, in whatever would likely increase the sum of useful knowledge and benefit humanity.

Off the harbour of Port Morant, Island of Jamaica, on board the ship "*Ann*," to the wife of

Master Mariner Benjamin Raffles, one of the oldest captains in the West India trade out of the port of London, on July 5th, 1781, was born a son. He was dearly loved and cared for by his mother to whom he was ever devoted. He was the only surviving son.

Not much is known of the Raffles' family history. They were said to be a Yorkshire family who removed to Berwick-on-Tweed, and thence, in Stamford Raffles' great-grandfather's time, they settled in London. Lady Raffles records of Sir Stamford that his early years were a period of obscurity and labour, without friends to aid him, as well as without hope of promotion.

In after years, when writing to his cousin, the Rev. Dr. Raffles of Liverpool, Sir Stamford said: "The deficiencies of my early education have never been fully supplied, and I have never ceased to deplore the necessity which withdrew me so early from school. I had hardly been two years at a boarding school when I was withdrawn, and forced to enter on the busy scenes of public life, then a mere boy (at the age of fourteen at the East India House). My leisure hours, however, still continued to be devoted to my favourite studies, and with the little aid my allowances afforded, I continued to make myself master of the French language, and to prosecute enquiries into some of the branches of literature and science: this was, however, in stolen moments, either before the office hours in the morning, or after them in the evening. I look back to those days of difficulty and application with some degree of pleasure. I feel I did all I could, and I have nothing to re-

proach myself with. All I have ever presumed to consider myself was that I was a lover and admirer of all that I could reach in literature and science. The high stations which I have held enable me to foster and encourage the pursuits of others, and if I have any merit it has rather been as the patron of science than in any other capacity.”

It was ever one of the most outstanding characteristics of Raffles that he disclaimed any pretensions to be regarded as more than a student, when he was often a past master in the subjects, not one but many, on which he wrote. Modesty well accorded with sterling merit. He rejoiced to be a fellow-worker with others, and was as ready to learn as he was to pass on what he had acquired, in the way of first-hand knowledge. In reply to a letter from a friend who had made enquiry about some linguistic matters for that famous scholar, Mr. Samuel Marsden, Raffles concluded a long letter, in which he had given a great deal of information, by saying: “Should you deem the replies to Mr. Marsden’s enquiries in any way satisfactory, and worthy of communication, I hope you will, at the same time, state them as coming from a young man who never made Oriental literature his study, and is but lately arrived in the place which furnishes the means of observation.”

It is to be noted that Mr. John Crawford, writing thirty years after the death of his rival, still showed very strong animus in what he says of Sir Stamford Raffles. After emphasizing the fact that he was the son of a ship-captain, he remarks:—
“After a very imperfect education he was entered

as a clerk in the secretary's office at the East India House at the early age of fifteen (as a matter of fact he was only fourteen), an inauspicious training which would have made the object of it, under ordinary circumstances, a mere drudge for life. Fortune and his own abilities rescued Sir Stamford from this position, and raised him to eminence and distinction. In 1805, after serving nine years in the India House, he was appointed deputy secretary to the absurd and extravagant government, with which the authorities at home thought proper then to overlay the little island of Penang at that time with barely thirty thousand inhabitants. This certainly was no field for the active mind of Sir Stamford, but it placed him in a position to obtain an elementary knowledge of the Malay language, and to acquire the friendship of the celebrated Orientalist, Dr. John Leyden, who had visited the island in quest of health, and there acquired himself that polyglot acquaintance with the Malay language which gained him so much distinction."

Crawfurd proceeds :—" In 1811 it became known that an expedition for the conquest of Java, and the other possessions of the Dutch in the Archipelago, was being prepared by the British Government of India, and Sir Stamford repaired to Calcutta, was introduced to the Earl of Minto by his friend, Dr. Leyden, and tendered his services, which, in the paucity of information respecting the Archipelago which then existed, were gladly accepted. Sir Stamford was appointed secretary to the Governor-General, who himself accompanied the expedition in person. In this capacity Raffles acted until the

conquest was completed, when he was appointed nominally Lieutenant-Governor, but in reality, Governor of Java and all its dependencies, with, as matters turned out, the unlucky exception of the Spice Island, which had been captured the previous year and placed under a distinct authority. In Java, Sir Stamford found the government still conducted on the old and vicious principle of commercial monopoly and forced labour, and, intrepid innovator that he was, he overthrew the whole system. But he was not so successful in the more difficult task of reconstruction. Many errors were committed both by himself and by the officers who served under him of whom I was one. The changes from one scheme to another were too frequent, the drafts on the treasury of British India became burdensome to it, and Sir Stamford, after an administration of four years, was removed by the government of the Marquis of Hastings, the successor of the Earl of Minto."

"After his removal from the government of Java he returned to England, and during his short stay there published his *History of Java*, a work which though hastily written is replete with valuable information: and a lasting monument of his ability and industry, the more meritorious when it is considered that the materials for it were collected amidst the distractions of a most stirring and busy administration. In 1817 he was appointed to the government of Bencoolen, with the title of Lieutenant-Governor. This poor settlement, however, afforded no scope for his ambition and activity. He betook himself therefore to the study of natural history: made an enterprising journey

into the interior of Sumatra, visiting a part of that great island which no European had ever seen before, and, with a view of establishing a commercial emporium and free port in a convenient and central position, he proceeded to Bengal and laid his scheme before the Marquis of Hastings. This gave rise to the establishment of Singapore in 1819, the most enduring monument of his reputation. In carrying his plan into execution, he encountered obstacles which would have discouraged and baffled a man less determined, but he was rewarded—with a success which was almost immediate, for in his last visit to it in 1823 he saw a miserable village of piratical Malay fishermen already converted into a prosperous commercial community.”

Crawfurd then speaks of the return of Raffles to England. “There,” he says, “he continued the study of natural history, and through his indefatigable activity, the Zoological Society and Gardens were formed. His slender frame and weakly constitution contrasted with the energy and activity of his mind. His health had never been good, and in 1826 he died suddenly from the effects of an abscess on the brain. Activity, industry, and political courage were the most remarkable endowments of his character. In the transaction of public business he was ready and expert—partly the result of his early training, but far more of innate energy and ability. He was not, perhaps, an original thinker, but readily adapted the notions of others—not always with adequate discrimination.”

Does Mr. Crawfurd wish to suggest that Raffles drew upon the brains and learning of his sub-

ordinate without acknowledgment? There is no need to look much below the surface to see that Crawfurd thought himself a misused man. He further remarks that Raffles without much time for examination, seeing it lauded by its partisans, adopted, and at once carried into execution, among the then five millions of Java, the fanciful and pernicious system called the Ryotwarry, and saw it break down even before he had himself quitted the administration of the island.

But the judicious reader will form his own conclusions on a fuller acquaintance of Sir Stamford, and of the times and circumstances in which he lived.

In contrast with what Crawfurd says about Raffles we may consider what his widow, Lady Raffles, who was his second wife, wrote about him: "Little is known of his religious feelings on first entering the world. Religious instruction was not then, perhaps, so general as at present, and he was not of the happy few to obtain it, but as he advanced in life, prosperity warmed his heart towards God, Who led him forward in his course of usefulness: adversity taught him to look to another state of being for the happiness which he felt himself capable of enjoying: perhaps his most prominent feelings on this subject were humility and faith. From his first setting out in life he gave praise to God for all the blessings which he enjoyed, and was deeply impressed with the sense of his own unworthiness. He constantly mourned over his own weakness, and deplored his want of power to

do that which he ought to do, and his failure in the performance of duty."

It is abundantly manifest that Raffles early showed a high and noble resolve to devote himself to the good of others, and he had a strong yearning to acquire the station in life that would best enable him to do the most good. His great affection for his mother was shown when he gleefully carried home to her his hard-earned pittance, and in after-life of comparative affluence he simply delighted to surround her with comforts. He revelled in all high and lowly pursuits, his mind always on the alert, contracting and dilating; but he had no time nor taste for mere pastime pursuits, so that he was able to remark, on his return from England, that he had never seen a horse race, and had never fired a gun.

He was a born linguist, and from his first essay in French went on to other languages with ease and distinction. He never spent a waking unoccupied minute: his active brain was ever on the alert. It was because of his recognised ability that he was chosen and sent in 1805 by the East India Company as assistant secretary to the establishment at Penang. On his voyage out, in those sailing-ship days, he learnt Malay so well that on his arrival he was able to hold intercourse with the natives of the place, and exchange with them his ideas and sentiments, with the marked approval of the Company's officials. There he at once began the study of other languages, and always kept in close touch with his favourite sciences of natural history.

All facts and incidents that form sidelights on a man's life and character are of special interest.

Captain Travers records that in 1806 at Penang he found Raffles to be a man of a cheerful and lively disposition, and very fond of society. Travers was surprised to note how well and hospitably he was able to entertain, and yet was so full of labours at the time, as was well known, not only in his official capacity, but in acquiring a general knowledge of the history, government, and local interests of the neighbouring states. In this he was greatly aided by conversing freely with the resident natives, and the many others who were constantly visiting Penang. In all this he was very considerably assisted by his wife, whom he married when about to sail in 1805. We shall learn more of her in a later chapter. She died in Java in 1814, and her tomb is still kept in good order, as we have seen it, in the lovely gardens of Beitenzorg, by the Dutch.

It was at this early period, 1806, that Raffles first met Dr. John Leyden, on a visit to Penang from Calcutta. The learned doctor resided several months with Raffles, and then began that close friendship which was only severed by death.

Raffles had an exceedingly trying time in Penang with hard work and worry, and not a little misunderstanding with some of his fellow-countrymen. Lady Raffles says the reason that led to the removal of Mr. Raffles to Malacca, in 1808, was that he might recover from a very serious illness which had been brought on by overwork, which had completely prostrated him. And no wonder, when we learn that he had no Eurasian or other clerk to assist him, but that he had to do all the transcription and the various official acts

by himself. And all this in addition to his daily and close and constant intercourse with the natives. It was by his keen and kindly interest in them, and their affairs, that he won and kept their unmistakable esteem and confidence, and gathered that knowledge which came in so usefully.

During this visit to Malacca he took in the situation there as to the trade and condition of the Asiatic settlers, and this led to the arrest of the East India Company's endeavours to divert both the trade and population to Penang. To effect this more thoroughly, orders had previously been given to destroy the fine, historie, fortifications of Malacca, and thus lead to the abandonment of the whole town. Raffles wrote, pointing out that there were still large numbers of people there, some twenty thousand at least, of whom there were considerable Europeans. These were chiefly Dutch and Portuguese, the rest were Eurasian, then usually called "half-eastes": besides large numbers of Straits' Chinese, often known as "Babas," that is Chinese and their descendants by Malay mothers, together with Arabs, Javanese and Chulians.

It was by such like acts on behalf and in the interests of the people, wherever he found himself, that Raffles endeared himself to all classes and races. And by such men and disinterested deeds have the foundations of the British Empire been laid both deep and broad.

CHAPTER II.

WHO AND WHAT ARE THE MALAYS ?

THE very first literary production of Raffles, which was written in Malacca, was a paper to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. Much of it is of perennial interest, as the following shows :—“ The island of Sumatra, as well as the islands of Java, Celebes, Sulu, and the Moluccas, which, with Borneo, compose what may be properly termed the Malayan group of natives, are radically distinct from the Malays. They speak languages entirely different, and use various written characters, original and peculiar to each. These nations are governed by their several laws and institutions : and, if we except the state of Menangkubu, in the island of Sumatra, it is on the shores of these islands (Penang, Singapore, etc.) only, and in the Malay Peninsula, that the Malays are to be found. Whatever may have been the origin of the Malayan nation, the primary population of these various and extensive islands could never, according to any natural inference, have proceeded from the Malays, though the reverse may probably have been the case.”

“ I cannot but consider the Malayan nation as one people, speaking one language, though spread over so wide a space, and preserving their character and customs, in all the maritime states

lying between the Sulu seas and the Southern Ocean, and bounded longitudinally by Sumatra and the western side of Papua or New Guinea. The Malayan languages may no doubt be traced to a further extent, and particularly among the South Sea islands. Independently of the laws of the Koran, which are more or less observed in the various Malay states, according to the influence of their Arabian and Mohammedan teachers, but seldom further than as they affect matters of religion, marriage, and inheritance, each state possesses its own Undang Undang, codes of laws or institutions, of different antiquity and authority, compiled by their different sovereigns. Throughout the whole there appears a general accordance."

"From the comparative rude and uncivilized character of the Malay nation, learned disquisition is not to be looked for: but simple ideas, simply expressed, may illustrate character better than scientific or refined composition. I have long been engaged, so far as the severe duties of my public situation would admit, in collecting Malay manuscripts of every description, and in particular of the annals and traditions of the Malays. The laws of Achin are peculiar, on account of the criminal law: they are interesting in so far as they have been generally adopted by Malays in the Straits of Malacca. Those of Siak have a peculiar interest, from the long established connection between that state and the Menangkabus in the interior of Sumatra. The Siak river takes its rise in the Menangkabus country. As the population of the Peninsula has excited much interest, my attention has been directed to the various tribes stated to be

scattered over the country.” These he names—the hill tribes termed Semang or Kaffers : those of the plains, the Orang Benua, and the Jakuns of Johore and Malacca. Raffles then gives a translation of Malayan history of the first arrival of the Portuguese at Malacca, which is the classic account :

“Ten Portuguese vessels arrived at Malacca from Manila, for the purpose of trade, during the reign of Sultan Ahmed Shah, at a time when the country possessed an extensive commerce, and everything was in abundance, when the affairs of government were well administered, and the officers were properly appointed. For forty days the Portuguese ships traded at Malacca : but still the Portuguese commander remained on shore presenting dollars by the chest, and gold ; and how many beautiful cloths did they present the illustrious Shah Ahmed Shah, so that the Sultan was most happy. After this the Sultan said to the commander, ‘What more do you require from us that you present such rich presents?’ To this the commander replied, ‘We only request one thing of our friend, should he be well inclined to the white man.’ The Sultan said, ‘State what it is that I may hear it, for if it is in my power I will comply with the request of my friend.’ The Portuguese answered, ‘We wish to request a small piece of ground, to the extent of what the skin of a beast may cover.’ ‘Then,’ said the Sultan, ‘let not my friends be unhappy, let them take whatever spot of ground they like best to the extent of their request.’ The captains highly rejoiced at this, and the Portuguese immediately landed,

bringing with them spades, brick and mortar. The commander then took the skin of the beast, and, having rent it into cords, measured out four sides, within which the Portuguese built a house of very considerable dimensions, leaving large square apertures in the walls for guns; and when the people of Malacca enquired the reason for the apertures being left, the Portuguese returned the answer, 'They are the openings that the white men require for windows.' The people of Malacca were satisfied and content.

"Alas! how often did the Bendahara and Tumunggungs approach the Raja with a request that the white men might not be permitted to build a large house: but the Raja would say, "My eyes are on them, and they are few in number: if they do wrong I will order my men to run amok." After this the Portuguese, during the night, conveyed cannon into their store-houses, and they landed small-arms, packed in chests, saying that their contents were clothes: in this manner did the Portuguese deceive and cheat the people.

"What the Portuguese next did was, when all their arms were in order and it was midnight, while Malacca slept, the Portuguese began to fire off their guns from the fort of Malacca. They soon destroyed all the houses of the people, and their nibong (palm trunk) fort. It was night when the Portuguese first attacked, and the Sultan Shah Ahmed Shaw with his people fled in all directions. Thus the Portuguese took possession of Malacca, whilst the Sultan fled to Muar, thence to Johore, and afterwards to Bentam."

“During thirty-six years, three months, and fourteen days,* the Portuguese were employed in the construction of the fort. The Portuguese remained in quiet possession of Malacca for about other nine years and a month, during which the country once more began to flourish on account of the large quantities of produce that were brought from all quarters. After this period a Dutch vessel arrived at Malacca for the purpose of trade, the vessel’s name was ‘Afterleden,’ and that of the captain, Eber. The captain perceived that Malacca was a very fine place, and had a good fort: therefore, after the vessel had traded for fifteen days, he set sail for Europe, and arriving after considerable time at the great country, he gave intelligence to the great Raja of what he had seen of the extent of Malacca, its commerce and the excellence of its fort. On this the Raja of Europe said, ‘If such is the account of Malacca, it is proper that I should order it to be attacked.’ Twenty-five vessels were thereupon ordered by the Raja of Europe for the purpose of attacking Malacca, and troops being embarked in each, they set sail for the kingdom of Bantam, in the country of Java, where the Dutch were on terms of friendship. At Bantam they found two Dutch ships and a ketch, and after they had taken on board buffaloes and provisions, the vessels sailed for Malacca. On the arrival of the fleet at Malacca, the Dutch sent a letter to the Portuguese, telling them to hold themselves in readiness as it was the intention of the Dutch to commence the attack on the morrow at mid-day. To this the Portuguese replied, ‘Come when you like, we are ready.’

“ The next day the Dutch attacked, and the war continued for about two months : but the country of Malacca was not carried, and the Dutch returned to Bantam, where they remained quiet for some time, with the intention of returning to Europe : all the great men on board feeling ashamed of what had happened. The head men in each of the ships, however, held a consultation respecting another attack, and decided to proceed against Malacca a second time, but still it did not surrender. The Dutch then sent a letter to Johore in terms of friendship to the Sultan, requesting his assistance in an attack. With this the Sultan was highly pleased, and an agreement was entered into between the Raja and the Dutch, and this was sworn to : so the Dutch and the Malays became as one as far as concerned the taking of Malacca. The Dutch were to attack from the sea, and the people from the land. If the country surrendered, the Dutch were to retain the country and the cannon : and everything else that might be found within Malacca was to be equally divided between the Dutch and the people of Johore. The men of Johore and the Dutch sailed for Malacca, and after attacking it for fifteen days from the sea, many were slain, Portuguese as well as Malays and Dutch. The Malays then held a consultation, and began to think that if they fought against the white men, according to this fashion, Malacca would not fall for ten years. It was therefore agreed by all the Malays that fifty men should enter the fort of Malacca and run amok. The Malays then selected a lucky day, and at five o'clock in the morning they entered the fort, and

every Portuguese was either put to death, or forced to fly into the interior of the country without order or regularity. Upon this the Malays exerted themselves in plundering Malacca, and the whole spoil was divided between the men of Johore and the Dutch, according to the agreement."

The men of Johore then returned to Johore, and the Dutch remained in possession of Malacca. This is the account (as the Malayan chronicle records) of these former times.

Sir Stamford Raffles' comment on the foregoing is:—"The most obvious and natural theory on the origin of the Malays is that they did not exist as a separate and distinct nation until the arrival of the Arabians in the Eastern Seas. At the present day they seem to differ from the more original nations from which they sprung in about the same degree as the Chulians of Kiling differ from the Tamil and Telinga nations on the Coromandel coast, or the Mapillas of Malabar differ from the Nairs, both which people appear in like manner with the Malays to have been gradually formed as nations, and separated from their original stock by the admixture of Arabian blood, and the introduction of the Arabic language and Moslem religion. The Malay language being written in the Arabic character is termed mixed, or crossed, for the Malays, as a nation distinct from the fixed population of the Eastern islands, do not possess any written character but what they have borrowed from the Arabs."

Since the time of Raffles there has been much controversy as to the meaning of the word

“Kling,” which is quite unknown in India. Professor Radhakmud Moorkerji, in his “History of Indian Shipping Activity,” reproduces from the famous sculptures of the Temple of Borobudur a representation of a ship manned by Indian adventurers, sailing to colonize Java. He writes:—

“In the year 75 A.D. a band of Hindu navigators set out from ‘Kalinga.’ Instead of plying within the usual limits of the Bay of Bengal, they boldly ventured out into the open limitless expanse of the Indian Ocean, and arrived at the island of Java.” There they planted a colony, and built towns and cities, and developed trade with India which continued for several centuries. It appears that there is another account, preserved in native records, which gives the credit of colonization to Gujarat, but the central fact stands that the Hindu influence on Java was important and widespread. It has been suggested that “Kalinga” was the origin of the word “Kling,” but “Telinga,” the Cuttack coast has its advocates.

CHAPTER III.

MR. T. S. RAFFLES AT MALACCA.

It was in 1809 that Mr. Raffles proceeded to Calcutta, there to be received with great kindness by Lord Minto, who ever afterwards continued his firm and steady friend, and reposed in him the most unreserved confidence. Lord Minto had wished to place Raffles as Governor of the Moluccas, as providing a wider field for the exercise of his recognized talents, but it was to be ordered quite differently. Napoleon was planning the possession of the extensive holding of Holland in the Eastern seas, possessions as important to the Dutch as those of India are to Great Britain. France looked to Java as the point whence her operations might be most successfully directed, not only against the political ascendancy of Great Britain in the East, but also against her commercial interests both at home and abroad.

Lord Minto wrote in February, 1811, from Calcutta, to Raffles to say that Mauritius and all the French islands were in our possession, and that he thought that nothing ought to retard the forward movement to capture the Dutch islands, which were claimed by the French, who now held Holland. He informed Raffles that the expedition, which had been fitted out, was comprised of four thousand European infantry, with a suitable proportion of artillery, and four thousand Bengal

infantry, with about three hundred cavalry, all of which would sail from India in the beginning or the middle of March. The instructions to Raffles were that he was to await Lord Minto at Malacca. Thither he went, and after long waiting—his time, however, as usual being well filled in—Lord Minto arrived on the 8th of May.

Mr. Raffles had from the moment of his arrival at Malacca set himself to acquire information on every point calculated to promote the conquest of Java. The results of his enquiries he communicated to Lord Minto by correspondence. These letters are exceedingly interesting, and will be read with keen zest by all students of those events that then took place, and of the peoples and places to which reference is made.

There was no dubiety in the mind of Raffles as to the desirability of the annexation of Java and the Eastern islands to our Indian Empire. He sketched with a masterly hand what he termed “our Malay policy,” which was to extend the British influence over all the chief points of vantage. We will find that his advice was not followed, and that we actually left ourselves without an inch of ground to stand upon until he secured for the Empire the then neglected island of Singapore. That is East and South of Penang, we had no footing till Raffles gave us the key to the Far East. His policy, as propounded to Lord Minto, was:—1. The states of the Malay peninsula. 2. The states of the island of Sumatra. 3. The state of Borneo. 4. The state of the Sunda isles, comprising the chain of islands which extend from the Straits of Sunda to Timor and the

Celebes, exclusive of Java. 5. The state of Celebes. 6. The state of Sulu and Mindanwi. 7. The state of the Moluccas, comprising Ceram and Banda. 8. The state of Jilolo, or little Celebes. 9. The Black Papua states of New Guinea, and the Papuan islands."

These states, as Raffles proposed to Lord Minto, were to be taken over by treaty to be made with those who had indisputable pretensions to independence. This policy, he flattered himself, appeared obvious whether the East India Company contemplated the retention of the Malay islands in permanent possession, or the possible transferring of the Dutch possessions to the enemy (i.e., the French) in the event of a peace in Europe. In either event Raffles argued that the British should score. In the first place it would enable the British to turn these islands to the best advantage for European trade, and the general benefit of India. In the second alternative, to quote his own words, "we shall secure such a footing among the Eastern islands, and such a favourable regard among the bravest races as will baffle all the attempts of the enemy to dislodge us."

He quite recognized the inability of the peoples of these islands to govern themselves, but believed that they would gladly ally themselves with so powerful a nation as the English on anything like fair and equitable terms, by which they might be "secured from civil commotions and the oppression of foreigners, without being deprived of all their natural advantages as under the Dutch domination."

Raffles then unfolds a plan for gaining the ready

adherence of the Malayan chiefs without compromising their punctilious regard for their own honours and titles. This wise and just policy was many years afterwards most successfully carried out by the Governor—Sir Andrew Clerk—who laid the foundations of the Federated Malay States, but both he and others who have had, in some cases, such loud praises showered upon them, or who claimed so much kudos, simply worked out the scheme of Mr. Raffles, who was far and away the foremost statesman the Orient had seen from England, who did his work East of our great Indian Empire.

The key to the whole position is expressed by Raffles in these words:—"I conceive that the Malay chiefs might be easily prevailed upon by suggestion to invest the Governor-General of India with the ancient title of Bintara, equivalent to Lord Protector, which has become obsolete among them for nearly three centuries, and which would not be reckoned injurious to the dignity of any modern chieftain. This would give a general superintendence over, and interference with all Malay states, which might be acted upon when circumstances should render it necessary: and might be so limited by treaty as to remove any occasion of suspicion from the native powers. It is of importance, however, that this should appear to be the spontaneous and voluntary act of the Malayan chieftains. . . . In the districts, that may be reduced under the sole authority of the English, little doubt can be entertained that we shall best consult our own interests by a line of policy radically different from that of the Dutch."

He, moreover, points out that many of the leading Dutch, to serve their own purposes, exploited the Javanese by depressing the natives, and by giving every encouragement to the Chinese, who, he said, were only itinerants, and not the children of the soil, and who followed the general practice of remitting the fruits of their industry to China, instead of spending them where they were acquired. Raffles, who spoke as he felt, and judging from what he observed, in very plain terms roundly rebuked the Dutch and the Chinese alike, as being "equally supple, venal and crafty in their speculations," by means of the existing system of the Dutch claiming the monopoly of revenue, which they controlled by farming out to the Chinese, who also acquired all the Government contracts. Had Raffles lived long enough, and seen and learned more of the Javanese and Malays, as contrasted with the industrious Chinese, he would likely have modified considerably his opinions of them, and also of the Dutch, of whose administration of the Netherlands' India much can be said in warm and unstinted commendation. But the efforts that Raffles made for the betterment of the Malayan races are beyond all praise, and are entirely in keeping with the high and disinterested aims of his whole life's service.

Raffles further observes to Lord Minto that what he said about the Chinese was largely applicable to the Arabs who frequented the Malay countries, and, under the specious mask of religion, preyed on the simple unsuspecting natives. He remarks that the Chinese must be admitted to be industrious, but the Arabs were mere drones, useless

and idle consumers of the products of the ground. Affecting to be the descendants of Mohammed, and the most eminent of his followers, when in reality they were commonly nothing more than manumitted slaves, they had wormed their way into favour with the Malay chiefs, and often procured the highest offices of the states. "They hold like robbers the offices they obtain as sycophants, and cover all with the sanctimonious veil of religious hypocrisy. Under the pretence of instructing the Malays in the principles of the Mohammedan religion, they inculcate the most intolerant bigotry, and render them incapable of receiving any species of useful knowledge." He set himself resolutely to plan for the exposure of these numerous adventurers, who styled themselves Sheikhs and Syeds, and claimed, and generally obtained, exemption of port duties in the Malay states, while they were really, in most cases, pirates and the chief promoters of the slave trade. He maintained that it would have to be the object of the British sedulously to repress those enemies of mankind, and to institute a regular trade with any of the Arabian commercial states, such as Muscat, Mocha or Jedda, for the advantage of the Malay states.

Raffles, moreover, did not hesitate to state that he thought that Lord Minto would have also to check the inroads of the Americans of that day, whom he found enriching themselves without any consideration of the natives. Thus he pressed for establishing certain determinate and regular ports as emporiums of trade, as the most effectual method of preventing the Eastern Islands from being overrun by multitudes of unprincipled ad-

venturers, chiefly Chinese, Arabian and American, whose presence, he contended, would neither tend to strengthen the interests of the British nation, nor ameliorate the condition of the natives. He does not, he could not, as an honest man, shield those of his own country who had too largely sought and served their own material advantages.

He freely discusses in what respects the British policy might be considered superior to that of the Dutch, and how it was calculated to promote the improvement and advantages of the Malay nations. He admitted that the policy hitherto pursued had not been by any means one of a conciliating or prepossessing nature. Raffles frankly said that British intercourse had been almost exclusively by adventurers little acquainted with either the country or the people, who had proved themselves more remarkable for boldness than for principle. He justly complained of the long neglect of the British Government to seek to investigate the grounds of complaint, whether on the part of the British traders, or the Malays, but maintained that past dereliction of duty need form no rule for the future, and that the benefits which the Malay nations might derive from a close connection with the British Government would be such that there was no probability of them ever getting from one another. He held that a colony should be considered, as an outlying province of the mother country, to be encouraged to develop to its own advantage in every way.

The power of the British in the East enabled them fearlessly to employ this policy, he declared, and humanity imperiously required that they

should employ it, and fortunately, British interests coincided with these sentiments. With an unerring hand, writing from Malacca, on June 10th, 1811, "Thomas Raffles, Agent of the Governor-General with the Malay States," sketches the causes that had most tended to bring about the depression of the Malays, and the deterioration of their character. These were, he thought, the civil commotions to which every state was liable from the radical want of strength in the sovereign, and the constant wars between the petty chieftains and heads of villages or districts: the ill defined succession to the throne: the prevalence of piracy: the system of domestic slavery with all its concomitant evils, and wars for the purpose of procuring slaves, and the want of a similar system of commercial regulations respecting port duties, anchorage and other charges: arbitrary exactions, and the discouragement given to regular trade by monopolies of the Malay rajas: and the redress of these evils, which in a large measure had been within the power of the British, for there was no other nation that possessed the means in an equal degree, even if it had the inclination to bring about a better condition of affairs.

Raffles pleaded for a well-defined and generally acknowledged system of law, because, in his opinion, nothing had tended so seriously to the deterioration of the Malay character as the want of it. The Malay nations had made considerable progress in civilization before the advent of the Arabs with the religion of Islam. They had regular institutions of their own of some antiquity as those of the Javanese, Bugis and Maccasar

tribes. Probably these were derived from the Indian nations, and were radically different from those of the Arabs, so that diverse anomalies sprang up in the different states. This is evident in their Undang-Undang and Adat-Malayu, which are the systems of national law. The Malays were thus in a very different situation from any of the old Moslem states, such as Persia, Arabia, or Turkey. The Moslem then had taken only a very partial hold in many of the islands. In the interior of all the larger islands paganism still prevailed: in many districts considerable numbers professed Christianity: the Chinese swarmed in every Malay country, and intermarried with the Moslems. This state of affairs led to the softening of the intolerance of Islam, so that the Malays had not been induced by their Arab teachers to abandon their peculiar usages and customs. Raffles strongly urged the revision of the native laws in conjunction with the Malays themselves.

At the time that Raffles had been appointed Lord Minto's agent to the Malay states, he was naturally much elated at the prospect of Java and the whole Eastern Archipelago coming under the British, and congratulated his Lordship on his future administration of our first great acquisition since India. He remarked that with the pacification of India completed, the tranquility and prosperity of our eastern possessions secured, the total expulsion of the European enemy (Napoleon) from the Eastern Seas, then with the justice, humanity and moderation of the British, which had been exemplified in fostering and leading new races of subjects and allies in the career of im-

provement, as the undaunted courage and resolution of British soldiers were in rescuing them from oppression, would open up a splendid prospect for the peoples whom he had learned to love, and for whom he lived his short, but most successful life, which was so rich in lasting beneficence.

CHAPTER IV.

DR. JOHN LEYDEN AND MR. WILLIAM MARSDEN.

JOHN LEYDEN, the famous orientalist, scholar and poet, was the friend of Raffles and many other notable men. The son of a Roxburgh shepherd, he was born at Denholm, near Jedburgh, in 1775. After eight years spent at the Edinburgh University, taking the usual Arts classes and the Divinity course required by all students for the Presbyterian ministry, he was licensed as a probationer of the Church of Scotland. Being an ardent student he acquired much learning and knowledge out of the ordinary routine, which included European and Oriental languages. He was a close associate of Sir Walter Scott, and assisted him in gathering material for his *Border Minstrelsy*, and on one occasion he proved his keen interest by walking some fifty miles to procure the words of a ballad. Though thoroughly in sympathy with Christian work, he does not seem to have had the special gifts of the preacher, at any rate he did not get, even if he wished, an appointment as a parish minister. He engaged in literary work of various kinds in the home land, besides continuing medical studies, till his appointment at Madras as surgeon in 1803. The

following year found him employed as surgeon and naturalist on the commission for the survey of Mysore and Travancore. Time and again his health gave way, but never his indomitable spirit. Five times over he was given up by the doctors, but sick or well he laboured at the acquisition of languages. For a while he resided at Penang in search of health, where he met Mr. Raffles, and that meeting had very important issues for Raffles and himself. Leyden returned to Calcutta. There he was made a professor in the Bengal College, and then a judge, afterwards commissioner of the Court of Request, then master of the mint. Meanwhile, he translated the Gospels into five different languages, in this way showing his hearty co-operation with the Baptist missionaries—all English—living under the Danish flag at Serampore, specially with the chief of them all, the truly great Dr. William Carey, who was professor of Oriental languages at Fort-William College, Calcutta, from 1801 to 1830. His literary output of grammars and dictionaries in Bengali, Mahratta and Sanskrit, and many other languages, have been the admiration and wonder of all who knew him and have come after him. He was one whom Raffles esteemed very highly for his works' sake.

Dr. John Leyden had long enjoyed the favour and esteem of Lord Minto, who took him with him as interpreter on the expedition against Java. But at Batavia, after overhauling a musty, unventilated library to read some long-wished-for Indian manuscripts, which to him were more precious than a gold mine, he contracted a fever which carried him off on August 27, 1811. But

his previous serious illnesses must be taken into account.

Dr. Leyden, writing to Mr. Raffles from Calcutta, October 9, 1809, said:—"I have received both your letters, and with great vexation have to inform you that Lord Minto is at present in Madras. I have laid before him the manuscript concerning Malacca, with which he is greatly pleased. I shall not fail to write to him as soon as I am a little recovered, for I have been for some days confined to bed by a smart attack of fever." He regrets that his literary studies had been knocked on the head by his duties, not only as a magistrate, but also in bush-fighting in the jungle. He was then again beginning to attack his literary work with vigour, and said he was still busy with his Eastern researches, and requested Raffles to get him a few copies of the best Malay manuscripts, and concludes by remarking that he presumed that he had never got into his hands the fateful Batavian researches. But, he says, he must be done and go to bed again, or increase his fever. Just what many a man in the East has felt and said before him and since!

In another letter from Leyden to Raffles, sent just before the departure of the expedition to Java, he points out how Lord Minto had already given Raffles important appointments. It appears that Minto's instructions from home were to expel the French and the Dutch, and leave the country entirely to itself, but the Governor-General's good sense saw that this was impossible. Then Leyden learnedly argued that the Malays must neither be independent, nor yet dependent,

but that there should be a general Malay league in which all the Rajas would be united like the old Pan of Burgundy, or the latter one of Germany which would have representation in a general parliament of the Malay states.

Lord Minto's plans did not commend themselves to the many local "bucks" of the day, and they did not volunteer for the expedition to Java, but this was in due time fitted out, and sailed for Penang, where it arrived on April 18, 1811.

Leyden thereupon proceeded to Malacca to spend some time with Raffles, and made an excursion into the interior. On reaching Batavia, as already stated, Dr. Leyden passed away in the arms of his friend Raffles, who deeply deplored the loss in a letter to Mr. Marsden, and regrets that in him Eastern literature had lost its foremost support.

Lady Raffles says her husband mourned his death, because he had anticipated the happiness of having him as an inmate of the family, one with whom he could have taken counsel both in public and in private: whose judgment would have aided, and whose affection would have cheered, and whose society would have brightened the cares and troubles of the responsible situation he was about to undertake.

* * * * *

In William Marsden the Empire had one of the keenest Oriental scholars. He was the son of an Irish merchant, and was born in Dublin in 1754. He only lived eight years in the East, but so thoroughly did he apply himself to study and research that he laid in material to work upon as a

foundation for the rest of his long life of great interest and usefulness. When he died, in October, 1836, he left enduring and valuable books for others to cull from in their further studies in the same departments of knowledge. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin, he entered the civil service of the East India Company, and was sent to Bencoolen, Sumatra, in 1771. There he rose to be chief secretary to the Government. He from the first set himself assiduously to learn Malayan and other Oriental languages, with a view always to understand and describe the conditions, habits, and customs of the peoples. Besides giving his attention closely to investigation on the spot, he corresponded, after the manner of the true scholar, with kindred spirits working on the same subjects in which he was specially engaged.

By 1778 he retired on pension, and went to live in England, and, the better to accomplish the objects he had already planned, he withdrew into literary seclusion. In 1782 he was able to produce his *History of Sumatra*. After this, for a few years he was in the employ of the Admiralty, first as second and then chief secretary. The year 1807 again, and finally, saw him in retirement for the loved work to which he had devoted himself. His famous *Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language* appeared in 1812. Besides many publications in magazines, and to the learned societies, he published a translation of the *Travels of Marco Polo* in 1817.

He seems to have been in fairly comfortable circumstances, for either by inheritance, or by his literary labours, or, perhaps, by his earnings and

investments in the East, he voluntarily resigned in 1813, on behoof of the public, the pension of £1,500 which had been bestowed on him when he left the service of the nation. In 1834 he presented his rich collection of Oriental coins, upon which he had written at length, to the British Museum, and he gave his valuable library of books and MSS. to King's College, London, and two years later he died after a full life of fresh and mature service to the nation, with large benefits to many of difference in race and creed, as every man will, in his measure, who gives himself, as unreservedly to congenial and worthy pursuits, as Marsden did.

Mr. Raffles, writing from Runemedé, Penang, in March, 1809, to Mr. W. Marsden, acknowledges two letters from him of June and November, 1808, and pleads excuse for delay in answering them owing to two long and serious illnesses, during which Raffles was under the necessity of denying himself the use of the pen, and all kinds of study, and from the effects of which he had then scarcely recovered.

He writes :—"With respect to the Menangkubus I am more than ever confident that those in the Peninsula derive their origin from the country of that name in Sumatra. Inland of Malacca, about sixty miles, is situated the Malay kingdom of Rembau, of which you have no doubt heard. The Sultan and chiefs hold their authority immediately from Menangkubu, and have even written commissions for their respective offices. In the Asiatic Researches you will see a long disquisition of the Indo-Chinese nations by Dr. Leyden. He

was only Eastward a few months, staying with me: you will note that he made good use of his time."

Then Raffles, in the large generous way in which he ever did things, told Marsden that he had by him a sketch of a grammar, which he would send him as soon as he could correct and copy it, and added that he was gradually compiling a dictionary, and that he was welcome to it, if it could be of any service to him. Again, when writing to Marsden in 1811, Raffles tells of his appointment as Lieut.-Governor of Java and its dependencies, and adds:—"No man better than yourself can appreciate the value of this new acquisition to the British Empire—it is in fact the other India. My time has been so completely taken up in political operations that I have had to leave my literary labours on the shelf untouched; but my present situation, and our new conquest, afford such a wide and unparalleled field for research that I should be worse than Goth or Vandal if I allowed it to remain untried in the literary way."

Besides being a statesman of the first rank with true powers of initiation, and a good and able administrator, Mr. Raffles proved himself no less a man of learning. In another letter to Marsden, from the Governor's beautiful residence at Buitenzorgset, in the centre of grand mountains, swiftly flowing rivers, and smiling plains of paddy and tropical flowers, on October 22, 1812, he sends, in answer to a request about the Upas tree, a lengthy report of medicinal plants, as well as a general account of Java, by Dr. Horsfield. He assures his friend that he was collecting for him a variety

of inscriptions found in different parts of Java, Madura and Bali. Drawings of all the ruined temples and images were already in hand, and Raffles had besides, vocabularies in the Javanese, Madurese, Bali and Bugis languages ready completed, with others well in hand. Truly a workman who had no need to be ashamed of his daily output!

CHAPTER V.

RAFFLES AS SEEN BY MUNSHI ABDULLAH.

ABDULLAH in his *Hikayat* gives some life-like pictures of the men who came under his notice, which are well worth reading. It is always best to let him speak in his own way, so we will let him do so—

“A few days after the news came that the English intended to attack Java, and it was about two or three months from the arrival of such a rumour, Mr. Raffles unexpectedly arrived with his wife, accompanied by an English clerk called Mr. Merlin, and a Malay writer called Ibrahim. Mr. Raffles stayed at Malacca at the Banda Iliar quarter in the plantation of the Captain China, named Baba Chang Lang, and he brought with him numerous goods, such as boxes of guns and pistols, satin cloth of great value, and prints with plain flowers, and many implements of which I had never seen the like. Also woollen cloth of soft texture, with clocks and watches, and paper for writing letters thereon to Malay princes, on which were printed flowers of gold and silver, besides many articles intended as presents to them.”

“Then on a certain day came the writer Ibrahim to tell of the intention of Mr. Raffles as to his engaging another writer; also that he desired

to buy Malacca writings with histories of former times, and to ask them who had them to bring them to his house."

"When I first saw Mr. Raffles he struck me as being of middle stature, neither too short nor too tall. His brow was broad, the sign of large heartedness: his head betokened his good understanding: his hair being fair betokened courage: his ears being large, quick hearing: his eyebrows were thick, and his left eye squinted a little: his nose was high: his cheeks a little hollow: his lips narrow, the sign of oratory and persuasiveness: his mouth was wide: his neck was long, and the colour of his body was not purely white: his breasts were well formed: his waist slender: his legs to proportion, and he walked with a slight stoop." (Thanks, Abdullah, for your description!)

"Now, I observed his habit was to be always in deep thought. He was most courteous in his intercourse with all men. He always had a sweet expression towards Europeans as well as with native gentlemen. He was extremely affable and liberal, always commanding one's best attention. He spoke in smiles. He also was an earnest enquirer into past history, and gave up nothing till he had probed it to the bottom. He loved most to sit in quietude, when he had nothing to write and read: but it was his usage, when he was either studying or speaking, that he would see no one till he had finished. He had a time set apart for each duty, nor would he mingle one with another. Further, in the evening, after tea, he would take ink, pen and paper after the candles had been lighted, reclining with closed eyes in a manner

that I took to be sleep : but in an instant he would be up, and write for a while till he went to recline again. Thus he would pass the night, till twelve or one, before he retired to bed. This was his daily practice. On the next morning he would go to what he had written, and read it while walking backwards and forwards, when, out of ten sheets, probably, he would give three or four to his copying clerk to enter into the books, and the others he would tear up. This he did every day."

" He kept four persons on wages, each in his peculiar department : one to go to the forests in search of various kinds of leaves, flowers, fungi, pulp, and such like products. Another he sent to collect all kinds of flies, grasshoppers, centipedes, bees, scorpions, giving him pins in a box to put through the creatures. Another he sent with a basket to seek for coral, shells, oysters, mussels, cockles, and such like : also fishes of various species : and yet another to collect animals, such as birds, jungle fowl, deer, stags, mousedeer and so forth. Then he had a large book with thick paper, whose use was for the keeping of the leaves and the flowers. And, when he could not put them there, he had a Chinese Macao painter, who was good at painting fruit and flowers to the life, these he sent him to copy. Again he kept a barrel of arrack or brandy, and when he got snakes, scorpions, centipedes and other such like, he would put them in till they were dead, before putting them in bottles. This occupation astonished the people of Malacca, and many profited from going in search of the living

creatures that exist in the sky and the earth, sea or land, town or country."

"For the people brought books of Malayan history to the number of many hundreds, so as nearly finished the national literature. They brought books from all parts, owing to the good prices given for them. At that time the histories stored up in Malacca were nearly exhausted, being so readily sold by the people: and what were only to be borrowed, these he had copied."

"Now Mr. Raffles took great interest in looking into the origin of nations, and the manner and customs of olden times. He was especially quick in the uptake of Malay with its variations. He delighted to see the proper idioms as the natives do. He was active in studying words and their place in phrases, and not till we had told him would he state that the English had another mode. It was his daily labour to order letters to be sent to the various countries to support their good understanding with his nation, and to increase the bond of friendship. This gained the goodwill of the Rajas, who returned the compliment with respect and thanks, and moreover with presents. There also came presents of books from various countries."

"Mr. Raffles' disposition was anything but covetous, for, in whatever undertakings or projects he had in view, he grudged no expense so that they were accomplished. Thus his intentions had rapid consummation. I also noticed that he hated the habit of the Dutch who lived in Malacca of running down the Malays, and the Dutch detested him in return: so much so that

they would not sit down beside him. But Mr. Raffles loved always to be on good terms with the Malays, the poorest could speak to him: and while the great folks in Malacca came to wait on him daily, whether Malays or Europeans, yet they could not find out his object of coming there. But to me it was plain that in all his sayings and doings there was the intelligence of a rising man, together with acuteness. And if my experience be not at fault, there was not his superior in this world in skill and largeness of heart."

Abdullah then relates Raffles' great distaste for the smell of durians, and of his anger and surprise at the way in which a Malay teacher punished his scholars, and his keen but kindly interest in all that concerned the weal of the people among whom he dwelt. He also speaks of the first Mrs. Raffles in these appreciative terms:—"She was not an ordinary woman, but was in every respect co-equal with her husband's position and responsibilities: bearing herself with propriety, politeness and good grace. She, too, was very fond of studying the Malay language." He then contrasts the behaviour of Malay women with this lady to her great advantage:—"To look at Mrs. Raffles her hands and her feet were in continual motion. There was the sewing, which was succeeded by writing: for I never saw her sleep at mid-day, or even reclining for the sake of ease, but always at work with diligence as day followed day. This the Almighty knows also. If I am not wrong in the conclusion I have arrived at, these are the signs of good sense and understanding which qualify for the doing of great deeds. Thus

her habits were active : so much so that in fact she did the duty of her husband : indeed, it was she that taught him. God had matched them as king and counsellor, or as a ring with its jewels. Thus it was fitting that she should be a pattern and friend to those who live after her."

Abdullah, who can sing the praise of good women, can also do the other thing as witness :—
" If the husband wants to go up the wife wants to go down : the husband calls a thing white, then the wife calls it black. Thus they wrangle from day to day, fighting one another like cats and dogs. There are others who, because of their beauty, tread the husband beneath their feet : thus to their idea God is very distant from the women of their quality. Nay, apart from their disregard of their obligations as wives, they do not consider it necessary to behave as friends to their husbands."

Mr. J. T. Thomson, whose translation I use, speaks of Sir Stamford Raffles as probably the most prominent Englishman in the East Indian Archipelago at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He points out that when Raffles first came under the observation of Abdullah the latter could only have been about twelve years of age. The personal description he gives is said to be excellent, as Thomson had heard contemporaries of the great Pro-Consul relate. Thomson says that we must remember when Abdullah tells of the evident dislike of the Dutch, that Raffles displayed, was due to the fact that at that time the Dutch had clearly decided against us in the war with Napoleon, and held sway in the East. He

further remarks that an old friend had said that the full, almost photographic, likeness of the first Mrs. Raffles was true to life. But Mr. Thomson, following the reprehensible habit of repeating tales without any attempt to ascertain their truthfulness or otherwise, passes on the ugly rumours which had done duty in the Penang community of those days. Mr. Boulger, in his "Life of Sir Stamford Raffles," has disposed of certain malicious statements about the first Mrs. (Olivia) Raffles, which were utterly without foundation, but which in their silent, mean, underhand way had made the life of Mr. and Mrs. Raffles exceedingly unpleasant in Penang.

Mr. Thomson may, however, be permitted to add, as he does, thus—"Had Mr. Raffles been carried away by the gaieties of society he could never have studied the native languages deeply, nor could he have mixed with the chiefs so as to gain their confidence. What sympathies he could not interchange with his own countrymen he perforce interchanged with them: and by this means he established a position which a high and noble-minded man like Lord Minto was not slow to appreciate. Thus also was it with his wife. If ladies of her husband's rank would not associate with her, the wives of the native chiefs would, and she gained in one way what she lost in the other. By devoting her talents to the cause of her husband she was, as Abdullah very beautifully said, 'the jewel in the ring.' "

Mrs. Raffles was ten years older than her husband, but what of that? Shakespeare's wife was older than that! Mr. and Mrs. Raffles were

married at London before they sailed in 1805, and Mrs. Raffles died at Batavia in 1814.

Abdullah has much to say of Mr. John Crawford, which is in strong contrast to his high estimate of Mr. Raffles, but it will serve no good and useful purpose to transcribe what he does say. The work of both men was done each in its own way, but what a difference in the spirit and aim, and in the result of it all, there has been these hundred years past !

CHAPTER VI.

DR. ROBERT MORRISON AND DR. WILLIAM MILNE.

THE two missionaries whom Sir Stamford Raffles knew best, and for whom he had the highest regard, were Dr. R. Morrison and Dr. W. Milne, who were the first representatives of the whole Protestant Church to the Chinese, both of whom had close and lifelong connections with Malacca and Singapore.

The two volumes of the "Memoirs of Robert Morrison" by his widow are classical sources of information of the period in which he lived. And the "Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China" by William Milne, which was printed at Malacca in 1820, makes exceedingly interesting reading. There, besides what Milne had to say, he incorporates notes of what Dr. Morrison had written on the tenth anniversary of his arrival in China, which was the 4th of September, 1807. Milne joined him at Macao in 1814.

Morrison writes very modestly of his peculiarly difficult labours. At first he lived, ate and dressed like the Chinese, that he might the better be able to gain access to them, and perfect himself in their language to carry out his plan in coming to China, which was to make a translation of the whole Bible, and also an Anglo-Chinese Dictionary. Both of these objects in due time he accomplished. After a time, in which he lived in an underground

room, he gave up the notion of living as a Chinese, and removed into a hired building. Here he had more room and convenience which were better adapted to his pursuits, and more conducive to his health than the little "go-down" he had occupied.

Before leaving England, Sir Joseph Banks had given him a letter of introduction to Sir Thomas Staunton, Bart., who was credited with being the only British man who then knew Chinese. Several of the British and American merchants at Canton took a kindly interest in the missionary, and some few attended his services in English. These he conducted from his arrival till his death. But his main and constant work was for the Chinese, though from the day of his marriage in 1808, a year after his arrival in China, he no longer drew any stipend from the London Missionary Society, but supported himself on the salary he drew from the East India Company, to which he acted as secretary in Chinese affairs, at a salary of £500 a year, at that time a very substantial sum. This income enabled him to give freely, which he did, to missionary and educational objects, besides supporting and educating his family. It left free his stipend for the funds of the Society to send other labourers, who began to come in greater numbers after the first few years.

Some people in England hearing that Morrison had entered the employ of the E.I. Company feared he had laid aside his high purposes; but then he had not done any more than David Livingstone in his later years when he, to carry out his heroic endeavours to kill the slave trade, ceased to draw his stipend from the Mission, and became a Govern-

ment official for a time. Morrison tells how he had to do nearly everything for the first time to prepare the way for others who were to follow, and who would, he was glad to think, enjoy the benefits of his labours. Meanwhile he did alone the digging and quarrying work. On Sundays and at other times as he could get opportunities he says—"One, two, three, five, ten, and twelve Chinese have attended for instruction, and for the worship of God; but large congregations cannot be expected in a country where to listen to instruction from a foreigner is a crime against the state." He consoles himself with the reflection that Paul taught privately those whom he could not reach publicly, for the furtherance of the gospel.

By 1810 he felt he had acquired a sufficient acquaintance with Chinese to satisfy himself that the translation of the Acts of the Apostles, which he had copied in London from the unknown MS. in the British Museum, would be a useful version if amended. This he succeeded in getting printed on the usual Chinese wooden blocks, but the price was high—some half dollar a copy, and the book was prohibitive in another sense, because the E.I. Company would not sanction a book by a foreigner in opposition to the wishes of the Chinese Government. But in 1811 the same Company undertook to print at their own charges in Bengal his Chinese Grammar, though it did not appear for four years.

He made his home in Macao, but his duties lay mostly in Canton. The translation of the Scriptures form the chief part of his work, and with the help of Dr. Milne at Malacca, he was able to issue the whole complete.

It is extremely interesting to handle the book, printed at Malacca by Milne, in which is embodied the MS. compiled by Morrison. Here W. Milne tells the story of how he came to be the second missionary to be sent to the Chinese. After being accepted by the Aberdeen Committee of the L.M.S., and, having finished his training under the Rev. David Bugue in the Theological Seminary at Gosport, he sailed with his wife on the 4th September, 1812, and arrived at Macao on 4th July, 1813.

Though his wife was allowed to stay in Macao, the Portuguese priests insisted that the Governor should compel him to leave. This he did, and went to live at Canton to learn Chinese among the heathen, as the nominally-called Christians would have none of him. He gladly placed himself under the direction of Morrison as to his studies. Milne says his senior told him to lay aside all other studies, and to spend his whole strength of body and mind in the one pursuit of acquiring the language. From early morning till late at night Milne faithfully gave himself to Chinese, as all must, even with present-day helps, who would seek to gain a correct command of the tongue and literature of the Chinese people. While learning, he was well pleased to preach in English, on Sundays, to all in Canton who would attend the services at his lodging in the city.

Morrison at Macao went on with his translation of the New Testament, which was revised and finished at the end of 1813. The Milnes had the great joy of sharing in this important event. The following year they witnessed the baptism of the

first convert by Morrison, as he himself records :—
 “ At a spring of water issuing from the foot of a lofty hill by the seaside, away from human observation, I baptised Tsac-a-ko. May he be the first fruits of a great harvest : one of millions who shall believe and be saved from the wrath to come.”

What the harvest has been since may be gathered from the fact that the Chinese Church, for which the Protestant Church in its various branches has worked, to-day has a quarter of a million of communicants with a Christian community of many more than a million of souls, who call Jesus their Lord and their God.

In July, 1816, Morrison left Macao in the suite of Lord Amherst, the British Ambassador to the Court of Peking. He returned on the first day of 1817. The embassy had failed to serve any useful purpose, as all readers of history know. This was a time of great interest to Morrison, and afforded much needed relaxation after nine years' close, incessant, and hard study, besides his duties for the East India Company. Much printing was done for the issue of books as well as for revisions of the Holy Scriptures. Buildings were required for his fellow-workers in Malacca, and these were put up, and, towards all, Morrison freely gave of his means.

When it was evident that William Milne would not be allowed to return and settle in Macao, and neither could he stay on in Canton, Mr. T. Stamford Raffles, then Governor-General of Java, wrote expressing his great readiness to forward the establishment of a Mission there, should Mr. Milne determine to come to Java, which had a great

Chinese population. Then the claims of Malacca as a centre had to be considered. The Chinese there were not so numerous, but it was near China itself, with a ready intercourse with all parts of the Eastern Archipelago where the Chinese had settled. Besides lying on the direct way between Cochin China, Siam, Penang, Burma and Ceylon, it provided frequent means of intercourse with India and Canton. Malacca was fixed upon as the sphere of the labours of Milne. He and Morrison argued that it might not answer all the purposes they had in view, but they were guided by what seemed to be the best reasons.

It is a thousand pities that about 1843 not only Malacca, but also Penang and Singapore, as well as Java, were all abandoned and the missionaries sent on to China. All the valuable properties were realised too, and lost to Missions in Malaya, save Prinsep Street in Singapore, which is in use till this day, and the Church at Batavia, which was built by Dr. Medhurst. Patient continuance in well-doing would have reaped a rich harvest in Malaya many years ago if the properties had been kept intact, and a small staff retained to carry on the work. When Missions were recommenced in these parts, things were really forty years in arrears, but the Roman Catholic Church had remained in full force in this British colony, with what result their public buildings testify.

On the 17th April, 1814, Mr. and Mrs. Milne reluctantly left their kind friends in China, and after thirty-five days' passage, reached Malacca. Here they were most kindly received by Major Farquhar, the Resident, who on every occasion manifested his

friendly regard for them. This greatly encouraged Milne. He records how he largely let the judgment of Morrison influence him in the mission at Malacca, because of the perfect confidence he had in one of such experience, for whom he had such a high regard and brotherly affection. As he says :—
 “ To men who know little of what is past, and less of the future, it should always be deemed a privilege to have the counsels of the wise and good.”

Mr. Milne's first duty was to act as pastor of the Dutch Church, as the minister had died. This Dr. Milne did as long as he lived, as the marble mural tablet in the church records. The building is now used for English Episcopalian services. His grave lies near by, but there is no stone to denote which is the one in which his dust reposes, though that of his wife, Rachel, is known.

Here was opened the very first of all Anglo-Chinese Colleges, but it really was in practice a school, and never, any more than Raffles' Institution in Singapore till this day, attained to the dignity of a college. It began as a Free School, as did all mission schools in Malaya : for in those days parents actually asked the missionaries to pay them for the time that their children spent in school, when they might have been helping them in the fields or in their businesses. To this school Morrison gave considerable sums of his hard earned money. Milne also tells of local friends and others who gave willingly towards the mission.

The printing press was rightly regarded as an essential part of the work to be done. On the 5th of August, the very day that the school was

opened, the first pages from the press were issued in Chinese. The daily preaching of the Gospel was not neglected, besides daily worship in the mission house. Milne had assigned to him certain portions of the Old Testament which he translated for Morrison. To Morrison belongs all the credit of the New Testament and by far the bulk of the Old of the first complete Chinese Bible. Copies of the Scriptures and tracts were freely distributed among the Chinese both on the peninsula and the islands, by Milne himself as far as he could do so and by other agencies. As in his time, so to-day, a knowledge of the Amoy vernacular will enable a missionary, or a merchant (who ought, like the civil servants of the Government, to learn the languages of the people they live amongst) to reach a larger proportion of the Chinese in Malaya than any other dialect. Milne in his day could write that no females ever leave China: the prejudices of the people against this are exceedingly strong. A hundred years have altered this. The steamships, easy and cheap passages, have wrought wonders. Now the only class of Chinese which does not bring its women-folk are the Hainanese, who are the usual house-servants.

Referring to difficulties in his time, Mr. Milne speaks of the prevalence of the sceptical philosophy of the school of Confucius. It is the same to-day, only with a very big difference. Recent attempts to galvanize Confucianism into life again have had some effect, but not quite the result which was really aimed at, but this is only a passing phase. The enlightened Chinese cannot allow themselves to be for ever deceived, even by

their own efforts, to try and retain the ancient superstitions and sophistries though expressed in the terms, and vitalized more so by the teachings and inner meanings of the very Christianity, which is professedly repudiated, but which all the time lies at the heart of all that is best in the new interpretation of the books of the scholars of China's great sage, who never professed more than to summarize and hand down the teachings of the ancients.

It was the intention that the Malacca Mission should also be one to the Malays, but this was never fully carried out, and the only man in the mission, in after years, who, through a long life carried on work among the Malays (and among the Chinese in Malay) was the Rev. B. P. Keasberry of Singapore. Others, like C. H. Thomson, did the same for short periods only, so that a Mission to Malays, as such, is yet to be commenced. To do it at all well it should be exclusively for them, and that by men and women specially trained and set apart for this work. It is simply futile to talk of the failure of missions to the Malays, since there never have been any seriously attempted in the British Possessions.

Buildings in Malacca for the mission were finished in the beginning of 1817. Here the Chinese New Testament was printed, and much other printing was done with imperfect fonts of type, which is apparent from copies the present writer has seen. The quarterly "Indo-Chinese Gleaner," among others, served a useful purpose, for it gave intelligence about China and other lands, and had notes on History, Philosophy, and the Literature of the

lands specially under review. While busy with many tasks, Mrs. Milne had a very serious illness, which required her to take a voyage to Macao, no slight undertaking in those days of sailing ships, specially as her husband could not leave his work to go with her. Mrs. Milne sailed for China, but she never regained her strength, and, after faithful service, was laid to rest by her husband at Malacca in March, 1819.

While Milne was alone in Malacca, during his wife's absence in China, and his colleague, Mr. Thomson, away, he had the great joy of welcoming another worker in the Rev. Walter Henry Medhurst (father of Sir Walter Medhurst, so well known in China in after days). He and his family arrived on June 12, 1817. He began the study of Chinese, superintended printing, and took a general oversight of the work, while Milne went on a visit to China, from August till February, 1818. Before sailing he had finished his popular tract, the "Two Friends," showing the folly of idolatry. Morrison and Milne were mutually delighted to have the company of one another, for a very real and tender affection existed between them, as is evident from their correspondence. While together, they laid their plans for their future guidance, and also for those who should be associated with them in the Mission. They fixed rules for the finishing and revision of the Bible in Chinese, and decided to keep in view the important islands of Japan, to collect all possible information respecting them, and, if possible, prepare by gradual steps the way for a voyage, by some of them, to that country at a future time: in order to ascertain,

after some knowledge of the language, what alterations and modifications the Chinese version of the Scriptures must undergo before it can be useful in that country, or whether an entirely new version might not be necessary.

It was settled that Milne was to build and have charge of the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, to which an unnamed friend (Morrison himself) had devoted four thousand Spanish dollars. And, as no provision was made, by the Missionary Society at home, for widows and orphans, they founded one themselves, towards which Morrison gave, to begin with, four hundred dollars. The reasons given for drawing up rules are excellent, and commend themselves for their sound sense. These have guided many wise men since.

In brief, any number of men who are agreed on certain general points, have a right to form rules and regulations for conducting their work. It is the duty of those who have been longest on the field to recommend and suggest to the juniors such measures as they conceive will be useful for families and individuals. Newcomers are advised to fall in with things as they find them for the first few years until they learn the language, and then, with local knowledge, will be better able to form mature judgments for themselves. Morrison and Milne expressed the hope that, however widely spread the Mission might become, it should be One Body for effective service, which would greatly contribute to the promotion of the Gospel, as well as make for the usefulness and comfort of the brethren. In these days Mission comity is, at long last, becoming a thing to be used and not sighed

for, for it is within reach, if we have grace to use it.

It is gladly and gratefully recorded that American Christians had contributed \$3,616 (Spanish). In those days all was given by the foreigner, and nothing by the Chinese. But Milne wrote in 1818—"The day will doubtless come when the Protestant Mission to China will not merely appeal to Christian liberality, but will also have to give reports equally calculated to excite gratitude to God for what He has actually wrought." Long years ago both Chinese and the missionaries have learnt to distinguish between the Mission (Foreign) and the Church (Chinese). The day is not now very distant when the Chinese givings will be quite equal to, if not far in advance of, what the Mission brings in finance, though foreign contributions will need to be very much larger than they have ever been, or indeed dreamt of, up to the present.

This will be the world's guarantee of peace for Asia, Europe, America, and the islands of the seven seas. Till moral conditions are brought about by the obedience of men and nations to Christ, there will be no cessation of the fear and the fact of ill-will and war. There can only be "peace" to "men of good-will." Till this truth is played in, evil cannot be played out of the thoughts and acts of men. God's will shall be done on earth, and men will yet do it. There will be no compulsion save moral necessity, with the full knowledge and consent of free and intelligent beings. God calls for, and expects complete and voluntary service. When the highest and the best is gladly given then

the King shall be satisfied, and His Kingdom shall come on earth.

Dr. Milne wrote:—"At present the Church is called to the exercise of patience, prayer and active zeal with regard to China: and it is highly probable that the slow progress of the Gospel among the people will, for a long period, call for the continued exercise of these in a prominent degree."

Meanwhile, Dr. Morrison went on with his literary work. In 1817 he finished his translation of the Psalms and Ruth, and wrote and printed "A View of China for Philological Purposes." Then, as proof of the catholicity of his mind, though a Presbyterian Churchman, in the employ of a Congregational Mission, he translated, in 1817-18, Morning and Evening Prayer, and other parts of the Book of Common Prayer. While Milne was in China on this occasion, parts of the Old Testament which had been translated by him were printed after the approval of his senior. On his return to Malacca on February 17th, 1818, he found the Rev. C. H. Thomson had come back, after an absence of fifteen months, bringing with him the Rev. John Slater and his wife. Thomson resumed his Malay work, and Slater applied himself to the study of Chinese. On the 14th of September the same year, other missionaries arrived, the Revs. Samuel Milton (afterwards the first missionary to Singapore), Thomas Beighton and John Ince. Those learning Chinese read for some hours daily with Milne, who says that once a week they wrote exercises and pieces of composition, a most valuable branch of Chinese study to the man who wishes to be early useful, and an accurate

scholar. They were helped by several parts of Morrison's Chinese Dictionary, with the Grammar and Dialogues which had been sent down to Malacca, where the foundations of the coming structures were being laid, which were to spread to the Chinese in all parts of the world in which they were to spread themselves.

By the signing of the treaty of Vienna on June 9th, 1815, Malacca had been restored to the Dutch, but this did not take effect till September, 1818, when Major William Farquhar handed over the colony. Malacca was again given to the British by the treaty of Holland in March, 1825 : and in the following year, with Penang and Singapore, became part of the Straits Settlements.

CHAPTER VII.

MALACCA DREAMERS AND WORKERS.

THE incoming Dutch officials were in full sympathy with the aims and objects of the Mission, and gave assurances that there would be the same liberty under the Dutch as there had been under the British. That year, 1818, on November the 10th, the foundation stone of the Anglo-Chinese College was laid in the presence of both the Dutch and British officials. About this time the news came that the Glasgow University had honoured itself, as well as Robert Morrison, by conferring on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity in recognition of his philological works.

Medhurst gave himself heartily to educational and printing work, and was a keen tract distributor, and often visited the junks and the villages and plantations in the country to preach to the Chinese. He continued to do similar work when he was transferred to Batavia in Java. It is interesting to the present writer to have preached there, in 1911, in what is still known as Dr. Medhurst's Church. This and the British Church at Bangkok, Siam, are both maintained by the British communities till this day, and are vested in the British Consulates for the use of Protestant communities. The only other old church building, going back to these early days, is Prinsep Street Church in Singapore, which was erected so late as

1843, the year all the L.M.S. agents were ordered to proceed to China. This is now the property of the Presbyterian Church of England for the use of the Chinese Church.

In the spring of 1819 Mr. Medhurst commenced the Mission at Penang, and there Messrs. Beighton and Ince were settled, and Mr. Medhurst returned to Malacca. In June of the same year the Rev. John Slater went to Batavia for Chinese work, and it is of note that he called at Singapore, which had just been founded by Sir Stamford Raffles a short time before, on 6th February, 1819.

Milne mentions that the first printing by wooden blocks made the Scriptures very costly, then movable types, made for the first time in Malacca to print Chinese, made things much cheaper, so whereas the Acts used to cost more than 2/6 a copy to be produced in 1819, he rejoiced that the whole New Testament in Chinese could be had for the same cost. Later, by 1853, missionaries were able to sell the same for sixpence, which is about the present selling price. The invention of the metal Chinese type stands to the credit of these early L.M.S. men. What the Press has done for China is beyond all calculation, though the living voice, and the object lesson of the Christian family, can never be done without, for a full-orbed representation of what the grace of God, which brings salvation, really means.

It was a red-letter day when the mission to Singapore commenced. Though Sir T. S. Raffles, on the very foundation of the settlement, cordially invited a missionary to settle in Singapore, those at Malacca hesitated because of the difference of

view between the British and Dutch officials as to the permanent possession of that so recently acquired island. But they argued that should arrangements be made for the Dutch to take Singapore, the mission might expect to have the same protection and liberty to follow out their objects. So the Rev. S. Milton was sent in October 1819, and he was most cordially received by Major Farquhar.

On the 25th November the whole of the Old Testament was finished, and Milne, one of the two translators, speaks with becoming modesty of this:—"Every scholar, especially every translator, well knows that first versions must be imperfect, the fastidious (who, by the way, are not often the best judges) will find enough to blame: and the judicious, profound scholar of future times, abundance of room for the exercise of his talents in revising and improving the work of his predecessors."

He adds:—"For six years the senior missionary laboured alone, for the next three years there were only two labourers. The difficulties at first were very great, in their kind, and the facilities few." His faith and courage were sublime. He was perfectly convinced of the final triumph of the Gospel in China, but he did not expect a very rapid advance. Milne held it would not be the work of one or two, or of five ages, but would require several generations, much labour and many instruments, before the glorious event would take place. "Yet we plough in hope, knowing that our labour shall not be in vain in the Lord." Dr. James Legge, the last of the Malacca missionaries of that

“race of saints,” told the present writer, when he was leaving home for Singapore in 1881, “Do not be discouraged at what you see, or rather at what you do not see as yet. Young men may think that nothing has been done, but we old men know that much has been done.”

What William Milne wrote, a hundred years ago, was to acquaint a large number of people in Western lands of what they were then in profound ignorance, and will not be without interest even to-day. “The ultra-Ganges nations may be considered as spread from Burma and stretching east to Japan, including the Malayan Archipelago and the vast group of islands lying between Penang and the Korea. These embrace some of the most populous and interesting countries under heaven. They contain a full third of the human race: and, from a variety of considerations, have most urgent claims on the benevolence and commiseration of Mission societies. In regard to civilization the best of them are centuries behind the least improved nation in Europe. Many of the tribes living in the interior of the islands still continue in the wildest state of savage life: while the chief part of the inhabitants of the Archipelago are in the comparative scale, but semi-barbarians. All the governments of the ultra-Ganges nations are Despotisms. Many of them tyrannical in a very high degree. To exalt and aggrandize privileged orders of men, and keep the people in a low, degrading servitude, ever children in understanding, and the vassals of arbitrary power, seems the uniform tendency of every native government on this side of India. Their constitutions seem framed on the principle,

and the spirit of their laws tend to this end. In as far as the theory of their governments may be investigated and reduced to general philosophical principles, and the actual details of the executive power, laid open to public view, in so far will this proposition appear confirmed: particular temporary exceptions cannot invalidate it."

Milne then proceeds to urge the necessity of caution in pronouncing opinions on insufficient data, and maintains that one must learn the language and literature of a people before being able to judge aright. He takes grave exception to those who would eulogize the laws of a country before seeing the development of the principles of the Government. He seeks to be quite fair in his judgments, and appeals to his Society, and all missions, to bear in mind that further study, more research under more favourable circumstances, may very likely give a different view of the subject. But he argues that from the character and conduct of the people one may know what is the nature of the politics and administration of the Government. He contends that Liberty, in the European sense of the word, is totally unknown under the native rule. Therefore missionaries must not expect it, and should, previously to their coming, resolve firmly to bear, with patience and peace, all the inconveniences that may arise from living under Governments, in their nature the very reverse of those under which they had been brought up: under all the various forms of legislative administration they should be prepared to be subject to the powers that be. From these causes, "vigorous intellect, improved understanding, in-

dependence of mind, comprehensiveness of view, and an open unsuspecting frankness of disposition are rare things in this part of the world, and still more so where the system of idolatry is of a degrading kind. It is, however, the peculiar glory of the Gospel that it is suited to all the different degrees of understanding among men. . . . Vigour and comprehensiveness of intellect are not absolutely necessary in order to its reception, it is indeed in many cases the parent of them." He then briefly traces the outstanding features of the religions of the East. "A very considerable portion of the Chinese were infected with a vain atheistical philosophy, which recognized no God, and which acknowledges no hereafter, while the common people worship the works of their own hands." He speaks of the early prevalence of Hinduism in Java, Sumatra and other islands, the traces of which remain till this day, as in Bali. This had been fully proved, as Milne said, by Sir Stamford Raffles in his large and interesting history of Java. He expressed the common wish that Raffles would soon write a similar history of Singapore, which, alas, the world did not get, much as he was ready and prepared to write the work.

Milne had to confess that Christianity had fallen on evil days in Malacca, particularly among the lower classes of Roman Catholics of Portuguese and Malayan descent. "This must indeed be a source of the greatest grief to the well disposed clergymen who labour among them. How lamentable that the true religion should have so exceedingly degenerated as to be scarcely distinguished

from the most senseless and disgusting forms of Paganism! How much is it to be desired that pious and enlightened men of the Romish communion would purge out the old leaven that their Church may be a new lump." In after years Sir Frederick Weld (who belonged to an old English Roman Catholic family, which held out at the Reformation) when Governor of the Straits Settlements, did much in a quiet way to improve matters, and strengthen the position of his communion throughout Malaya. One result were orders from the Roman Curia for the substitution of the French to take precedence of the Portuguese priests at Malacca, by which act a better order of things began to prevail.

To be quite fair, Milne does not spare the representatives of the Protestant Church. "At Malacca and Java the clergy seem to have directed their chief attention to the Europeans, and did very little for the heathen." He mourns that the total neglect of all religion, by many so-called Protestants, forms as mighty a barrier in the way of conversions as the gross superstitions of the Catholics. In his time there were three Missionary Societies at work in a small way—the Netherlands Mission, the Baptists (British and American) and his own, that of the London Mission. Two Protestant ecclesiastical establishments had extended to those parts—the Dutch Reformed Church in Netherlands India, and the "Reformed Church of England, as by law established," at three points only, Penang, Bencoolen and at the British Factory at Canton. These were indeed the days of small things, just exactly one hundred years ago."

Like Sir S. Raffles, Major Farquhar and Dr. Morrison, Dr. W. Milne was in downright earnest to set his face against slavery, opium and gambling. And the colony, Malaya, and the Empire as a whole would, have been better, by an immensity of meaning to-day, had the advice of these men been followed by those who came into office after Sir Stamford. But as with man, so with nations; the harvest is always in strict accordance with the nature of the seed sown. God and Nature cannot be fooled.

Piracy and slavery have been put down, but opium remains, to the standing disgrace of the colony and the powers that be at Downing Street, who could, if they would, end the crying shame. Gambling is illegal in the colony, but it has only quite recently been brought to an end in the Federated Malay States. Till 1917 it was openly carried on in Johore, and those who wished could go there from Singapore and Malaya generally, by train at any time and gamble. Europeans and Straits Chinese women were a few years ago prohibited, but they were allowed to go there, for many a long day, to the disgrace of all concerned. There should have been no difficulty in dealing with gambling in Johore. It will ever stand to the credit of these noble men that they attacked those evils as soon as confronted by them, and suggested the only policy that has anything to be said for itself. Had it been carried out, a hundred years ago or later, how great would have been the difference in the character and type of the Asiatics, as well as of the Europeans of Malaya! True, things might have been worse, and

there is much that is really praiseworthy, but there was a more excellent way which could and, therefore, should have been followed with very great benefit to the whole community.

Milne said :—" The vast consumption of opium on this side of India is the source of so many evils among the people, and yet of such gain to the merchants, that I utterly despair of saying anything on the subject that will not be regarded with the most sovereign contempt and dislike. I cannot, however, but regard it as one of the many obstacles which hinder the moral improvement of Eastern India and China. That a practice so destructive of social order, and which so effectually impoverishes a large portion of the people to enrich a few, generally of the worst characters, should have the sanction of any Christian Government, and a portion of public revenue derived therefrom, furnishes just cause for astonishment."

The farming out of both opium, drink and gambling savours too much of the degenerate days of the Roman Empire, and the British Empire has had, and will continue to have for long, its heavy price to pay for its supineness and greed in seeking this easy, immoral way of dealing with evils that it was the plain, simple duty of those in authority to put an end to so far as public, governmental recognition was concerned. "There was money in the thing" was the cynical remark of men who saw the wrong being done, but had not the moral courage to take their part in seeking to right matters.

Milne was a hard-headed Aberdonian, and could see as far as most people. He naturally felt very

keenly the obstacles placed in the way of men like himself by his own countrymen, who offered objections to the aims he had in view, which were simply the ordinary common duties of Christian Ministers to put into operation the elementary principles of Christianity. "There were men who were governed solely by political views, or by regard to the opinion of society, who sometimes shake you by the hand, and speak well of your objects, manifest politeness in company, and make liberal promises of doing everything they can to promote their views, and should missionaries be simple enough to credit all this they might soon consider themselves the favourites of the great, and the bosom friends of chief men. But we must not allow ourselves to be so imposed upon." While deploring that nothing more hinders the success of the Gospel than the lasciviousness, the intemperance, the avarice, the injustice and the impiety of nominal Christians, he said, it was his happiness to live in an age when not a few men of the highest rank, and holding the highest offices, were real and hearty friends to every judicious and laborious missionary. He very rightly takes grave exception to the laudatory way in which some people at home praise the missionaries as being persons of superior ability or devotion, while they were just doing their duty in the special circumstances of their fields. But he adds:—"Due consideration and commendation may be given where it is merited without making the pulpit a stage from which to trumpet forth the creature's praise." By such men of sound, sterling good sense were

the foundations of the Chinese Church laid in these early days.

From his outlook, at Malacca, William Milne considered the prospects of the conversion of the Chinese on the side of mere human probability, and on the principle of dependence on the Holy Spirit. The conversion contemplated, he maintained, must begin by the renovation of the soul by the power of God's spirit, and extend to the formation of an entirely new creature, influencing through life all the operations of the mind and all actions. Less than this would be to fail to effect what the Mission stands for. He well knew that there might be real success in the way of preparation for those who were to come after to reap what had been sown, and strongly held that the success of missions could not be calculated on mercantile principles, *viz.*, so many converts, for so much money, within a given time limit. He does, for the sake of argument, go into facts and figures, on the ground of probability, that at the end of five centuries there might be two hundred and sixty-two millions of Chinese Christians, allowing Christianity every advantage, and calculating the progress at a very low rate: but on the other hand he pins his faith to the agency of the Holy Spirit in whose inscrutable operations, accompanying the means used for the conversion of the people, with the object lesson of the virtues and moral excellencies of true Christians, together with secret, efficacious prayer, the result would undoubtedly be the turning of the Chinese to God. What he expected was that, when the influences to be exerted were in fuller operation, the conversions of a year might be more

than those formerly in a century. Professor James Legge of Oxford gave utterance to the same conviction when he said. "We should not calculate by mathematical, but by geometrical progression."

The first century of Protestant Missions to the Chinese points to the realization of the best dreams of these early workers being fully justified. And can we look for less, with the prospects as glorious as the promises of God and His Christ? The work is God's and not ours, except that we have the privilege of being His fellow-workers together in the grandest enterprise in which mortals can ever be engaged. Are we prepared to fall into line, with the different services of the Army of the Church of God, and carry on the campaign to a full and final victory for Christ, for Truth and Righteousness?

In 1814 Morrison's first edition of the New Testament was published for the Chinese. Since then over thirty million copies have been circulated in China alone. In 1814 there were in all only two missionaries representing the Protestant churches of all the world in China. To-day there are five thousand five hundred (including wives of missionaries, often most efficient workers). The indigenous, Chinese Church is a living, potent fact.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CONQUEST OF JAVA.

By June, 1811, the expedition under Lord Minto left Malacca for Java. The result was the British occupation, and a proclamation was issued to that effect at Batavia on August 4th. A month later Mr. Stamford Raffles was commissioned to act as Lieutenant-Governor of Java and its dependencies, and Lord Minto returned to India after only five weeks in Java.

Raffles, who was never idle, was not long in finding his way to East Java, and he writes to Lord Minto:—"I shall only say I was most highly gratified and satisfied with everything I saw: it is impossible to conceive anything more rich than the country, both in cultivation and scenery. I was happy to perceive that between Samarang and Sourabaya neither the country nor the establishments had suffered from the effects of the expedition, and everything was going on as if nothing had happened. To give an idea of the high state of the roads, and the facility of communication in every part of the island, it may be sufficient to inform you that from Surabaya to Samarang, two hundred miles, I was only twenty-four hours on the road, and thence to Buitenzorg,

only two days and a half, and this without any fatigue.”

If the saying is true that the sailor always beats the soldier, as indeed the sailor does regard himself the better man, Raffles, at least, showed the good breeding of his seafaring folk in the good use he made of his long time on shipboard on his way out when he laid in such a good store of Malay, and much else, for the coming days of hard and constant and most strenuous work. The sea salt in his veins had been placed there to a very good purpose. It is no little thing to have good sea legs, but a greater matter is to have a fearless nature ready to face duty and hardship anywhere, and do anything that the moment requires.

It is here fitting that some of the words of Mr. Raffles, addressed to the Batavian Literary and Scientific Society on the death of Lord Minto, should be recalled as expressive of himself, who did not get the full meed of praise and recognition of the value of his work till many years after his short, but most fruitful lifetime. Indeed, Raffles was much misjudged and misrepresented, and was allowed to retire without that appreciation which was due to him, and without that ample provision which should have been placed at his disposal.

After our hero recounts the great services of Lord Minto as the friend and liberator of Java, he regrets that he had not lived to see the fruits of his benevolence come to a proper maturity. But : “ However deeply we may bewail this melancholy event, let us beware not to murmur against the ways of Providence. Let us rather draw from the circumstances the consoling reflection that Divine

Justice will never fail, and; though full compensation seems to be wanting on this side of the grave, the deficiency will be amply filled up in another state, where life, bliss and happiness will be everlasting."

It is pointed out by Lady Raffles that while her husband was occupied in the encouragement of every object calculated to promote the good of the people of Java, whom he governed, and sought to enlarge our knowledge of their institutions, habits and character, neither he nor his superiors in Bengal knew of the intentions of the Government at home, or of the East India Company, as to the future fate of the island. His chief difficulties arose from this great uncertainty. He had to seek to administer the affairs of the island without knowing whether it belonged to the King or the Company, which led to embarrassment and difference of opinion as to meeting the interests and wishes of individuals, which were naturally affected by any decisions that he might arrive at.

Lord Minto, on the eve of retiring from his high office in Calcutta, wrote most affectionately to his tried and faithful friend, Raffles, assuring him of his gratitude and esteem for all his many services. There was a prospect that some one else might be sent to take up the appointment that Mr. Raffles held, and the suggestion was made that Raffles might take the Residency of Fort Marlborough at Bencoolen, that is in case he would not care to serve under the new Governor-General.

Much annoyance and anxiety fell to the lot of Raffles through the action of General Gillespie in bringing charges against his administration. This

gentleman was relieved by the appointment of General Nightingale. The mere fact of the charges having been made, as Lady Raffles records, compelled him to lay bare the whole system of his administration with a minuteness which, under any other circumstance, would hardly have been allowable, but which in his case, under these circumstances, was an absolute duty.

Raffles, writing to a friend, in March 1814, says : “ While you are quietly gliding on in smooth and sunny streams of private life, it is my lot to be tossed on boisterous billows, and to be annoyed with all clouds and evils which ensue from party spirit. Without family pretensions, fortune, or personal friends, it has been my lot to obtain the high station which I now fill : and I have not been without my due proportion of envy in consequence.” After alluding to the trouble with the military commander, he continues :—“ Arriving in Bengal after Lord Minto had left it, I found the new Governor-General, Lord Moira (afterwards the Marquis of Hastings) unacquainted with all that had previously passed, and succeeded, to a certain extent, in impressing him favourably. He was committed, in the course of our differences, by assertions which he had made : and finding that he had succeeded in directing the current of public opinion against me, he has brought regular charges against my administration and my character. The whole are, thank God, easily to be repelled. The closer the investigation, the purer my conduct will appear. Lord Minto is fully aware of the violent action which has taken up arms against me and will defend me in England. In India I have pos-

session and a clear character to maintain it. Let Satan do his worst. My enemies have said much, and written more, but in the end truth and honesty must prevail."

Lady Raffles records that the charges reached Java when he was more than usually busy, but it is a stronger proof of his ability, and the assured confidence in his integrity, that he replied with ease and despatch fully at the moment. At the time he had his house full of company, and never absented himself from the usual hours of social intercourse, or neglected the usual routine of business. The minute which he drew up, when printed, filled a quarto volume of moderate thickness, and is a monument of the powers of his mind. It is right to put down here the finding of the Court of Directors, which completely exculpates Mr. Raffles. It reads:—"After a scrupulous examination of all the documents, both accusatory and exculpatory, and an attentive perusal of the minutes of the Governor-General and his Council, we think it due to Mr. Raffles, in the interests of our service and in the cause of truth, explicitly to declare our decided conviction that the charges, in so far as they impeach the moral character of that gentleman, have not only not been made good, but they have been disproved to an extent which is seldom practicable in the case of defence. Before pronouncing upon the financial operations, we are desirous of fuller information, and further time to deliberate on their tendency and effects, as well as on the circumstances under which they were made. Were their unreasonableness, improvidence and inefficiency clearly established, this would only

indicate error or defect of judgment, or, at most, incompetence in Mr. Raffles for the high and exceedingly difficult situation which he filled." A full endorsement of the acquittal of Mr. Raffles was given in the words that whatever might be said as to the policy of Raffles, the Court of Directors were satisfied that there was no sign of any sordid or selfish taint, but that his conduct had sprung from motives which were perfectly correct and laudable.

Captain Travers, in his Journal, notes that Mr. Raffles at this time of anxiety and trouble was working out his plan for the introduction of an improved system of internal management and land rental, a measure which gave his administration a lustre and widely spread fame. To gather the necessary information at first hand he was in constant touch with the chiefs, and visited in detail every part of the eastern part of Java, often undergoing great personal exertions and fatigue, which few who accompanied him were able to encounter. He often rode sixty or seventy miles a day, and what that means only those who have lived in the tropics, so very near the equator, have any real conception of. When Raffles got back to Batavia he was in good health and fine high spirits, and greatly pleased that he had carried out his undertaking, and he found in General Nightingale a very cordial supporter, which was a comfort and encouragement.

In after life this period was considered the happiest of any other during the administration of Raffles in Java. Travers tells of the pleasant relationship that existed between the families of the

Governor and the General. It was on one of those enjoyable occasions that the news reached Raffles of the charges which had been preferred against him by General Gillespie at Calcutta. But although Raffles had so much on his mind, and though this came when and how it did, not a visitor could perceive the slightest alteration in his manner. He was the same cheerful, animated person that they always found him, and only seemed anxious how best to promote and encourage the amusement, and contribute to the happiness and enjoyment, of all around him.

It will remain to the lasting honour of Raffles that he wisely studied the past history, as well as the prevailing customs and condition of the people of Java, and framed all his plans of government as much for their benefit as for the good of the state. The view he was led to take, rightly or wrongly, was that the European occupation of the island, previous to the coming of the British, appeared only to have been exercised to invade and destroy the property of the natives of the country. He wrote:—"Whoever has viewed the fertile plains of Java, or beheld with astonishment the surprising efforts of human industry, which has carried cultivation to the summits of the most stupendous mountains, will be impressed in their favour."

It is interesting to read the frank and characteristic statement sent to Lord Minto by Mr. Raffles, under date of February 13, 1814, as to his efforts to place on a firm and solid foundation the rights of the natives of Java as to their land tenure:—"I have said so much on the effects of the change, and

they are so obvious on general principles, that I should but intrude on your time by enlarging upon them here. I cannot but look upon the accomplishment as the most conspicuous and important under my administration: and in its success or otherwise I am willing to stand or fall. I have suffered no small share of anxiety and bodily fatigue while it was in progress: but now it has been happily accomplished! I am amply repaid for all.”

He speaks of having been absent from Batavia three months—that he might be personally acquainted with the whole position of affairs, and continues—“I have been able to judge for myself, and although I have failed to avail myself of all the talent and experience I could find, I may safely say, I have in no case decided without a conviction brought home to my own mind that I am right.” To Sir Hugh Inglis he wrote privately—“Whatever may be the eventual fate of Java, whether it is decided that the colony be attached to the Company’s possessions, or even given up at a peace to a foreign power (which may God forbid) the inhabitants of Java will have the happiness to bless the day which places them under such a system of government. I have been forced to act, in every measure of importance, on my own responsibility, not from the superior authorities being ignorant of the real interests of the colony, but from a hesitation on their part to involve themselves with the government which might be finally fixed.”

Raffles was ever well to the forefront in discerning the needs of remedies to alleviate the special distresses of the peoples of the lands in which he found his lot was cast. He very soon sought to

take steps for the suppression of piracy. Writing to the Governor of Prince of Wales Island (Penang) he contended that nothing could tend so effectually to this end as “the encouragement and extension of lawful commerce, and the civilization of the inhabitants of the Eastern Archipelago. This would afford a steady support to the established native sovereigns, and assist them in the maintenance of their just rights and authorities over their several chiefs, and along the shores dependent upon their dominion. It appears to me the adoption of this principle, and the establishment of British agents at the leading ports, would gradually change the barbarous and uncivilized life of the people who inhabit the shores of the islands: and, united with the beneficial effects of the abolition of the slave-trade, would, by the lessening the means of plunder, and securing the exertion of legal superior authority, gradually tend to agricultural improvement, and to the prosperity and interior trade that naturally must follow.”

The British Parliament at that time had declared the slave trade illegal, so Raffles took the step of introducing the same into colonial law, which continues till this day.

After the founding of Singapore, Sir Stamford Raffles in September, 1819, wrote from Bencoolen to William Wilberforce, seeking his assistance for the benefit of the peoples whom he was trying not only to save from slavery, but also to bring under conditions which would lead to their elevation. Again Raffles must speak in his own words—“I have long delayed writing to you in the expectation of leisure, which I have never found: but I cannot longer

decline the duty of giving you some information regarding the state of our population, and the means which are in progress for its amelioration and improvement. My public duties have called me to different and distant countries, and a large portion of my time has necessarily been devoted to political objects : but in the course of these, neither the cause of the slave, nor the improvement of those subjected to our influence, has been forgotten. In Sumatra I had, in many respects, a new field to tread : its population, for the most part, is many centuries behind that of Java : and, before any rational plan for general improvement could be adopted, it is necessary not only that much detailed information should be collected, but that the principles and extent of our political authority and influence should be clearly understood and established.”

He then tells of the state of things as he found them, and notes with gratitude that his efforts to improve matters had received the approval of the higher authorities as founded on sound principles of economy, expediency and humanity. “ Thus encouraged, I have not hesitated to prosecute my plans with ardour and decision, and the results, as far as they have yet been seen, have fully answered my expectations. As much has been done as the time and the peculiar circumstances of the country and people have admitted, and the foundation has at least been laid on which a better state of society may be established.”

“ Among the more striking irregularities which I found to prevail was the encouragement and countenance given to slavery, by the entertainment on

the part of Government of a gang of negroes, in number between two and three hundred. This appeared to me so opposite to the Company's general practice and principles in India, and so prejudicial to their character, that I did not hesitate to take upon myself the measure of emancipating the whole, and by this my first act to give an earnest of the principles on which my future Government would be conducted. A provision was continued for the old and infirm, as well as the children, and, as the latter are numerous, no time was lost in affording them the means of education. An institution for the Kaffir children was established, and placed under the superintendence of our chaplain. From this small beginning, originating in the abolition of slavery, may be traced the progress we are now making on a more extensive and enlarged scale throughout the Archipelago."

Sir Stamford then speaks of his visit to Bengal, where he obtained the aid of British missionaries, the famous trio, Carey, Marshman and Ward, from whom he got the services of a son of Carey (who was the first of all British missionaries to India). Young Carey was well acquainted with school work, and he accompanied Raffles on his return to Bencoolen bringing with him a small font of types in the Roman and native characters, to found a printing establishment.

Mr. Raffles soon found that his well-intentioned efforts on behalf of the native races were not acceptable to many of the resident Europeans, specially those of the older generation, but he was able to add that he found that the strong prejudices against the natives were wearing away, and he

hoped that he had introduced into the superintending committee enough of the new leaven of charity and benevolence to prevent the institution from running aground on the rocks of illiberality. While the school committee were to confine their care to this institution, another one was appointed to direct their undivided and particular attention to the causes which might have produced the very unsatisfactory state of affairs. The aim was to go to the origin and root of the evil that the means, which a more extensive and large view would give, might be used to effect most desirable changes.

Raffles then confides in Wilberforce and gives his views as to Missions and Missionaries, which sentiments are very well worth considering, even at this distance of time with all the added experience of a century and more of missionary endeavour.

“ I must now carry you to a more extensive field to obtain all the aid of your powerful patronage and support for an institution, which is to operate on an enlarged and still more important scale, and is intended to complete the design that I have in view : it is the keystone to the arch, and, when once this is constructed and well cemented, holier and better men may raise upon it such a superstructure as their duty to God may require. All that I attempt is to pave the way for better things. Although I am far from lukewarm towards higher ends, I am content to confine all my views to the enlargement of the human mind, and the general spread of moral principles. In the present state of these countries these are the first to be attended to, that the mind may be prepared for religious truth

and Christian discipline. It is true the peoples of these islands are distinguished by the absence of the spirit of intolerance and bigotry, which prevails on the continent of India, and they place the fullest confidence in the benevolence and liberality of our government and institutions; but we as yet see them as a sea in a calm. I am far from opposing missionaries, and the more we have of them the better: but let them be enlightened men, and placed in connection with the schools, and under control." Raffles then returns to propound his dream of what was called the Ultra-Ganges scheme:—

“I must return to my Institution, which is intended to be a native college for the education of the higher order of the natives, and to afford the means of instruction to ourselves (it is well to note this) in the native languages, and of prosecuting our researches into the history, literature, and resources of the Further East. When I tell you that the effect of this is intended to be felt among a population of not less than thirty millions, and that its influence may eventually, and perhaps at no distant date, extend to ten times that number, it is not necessary to say more on the extent and importance of the field: of its nature and interest I need only refer you to the map of the world, and request you to consider all those countries, lying east and south of the Ganges, as included within our range. It is from the banks of the Ganges to the utmost limits of China and Japan, and to New Holland, that the influence of our proposed institution is calculated to extend. Of these extensive

countries no portion has a higher and a more peculiar interest than these Eastern Islands."

Mr. Raffles asks Mr. Wilberforce to excuse him that his private letter had so far exceeded its proper limits, but, further more, he encloses a copy of the paper that he had submitted to the Marquis of Hastings on the same lines, and requests the good offices of Wilberforce to aid in the objects aimed at. To this end he gave full liberty to circulate the paper as might be thought advisable.

"I am particularly anxious that the lamp we have lighted should not be allowed to shine with a dim or imperfect lustre: the spark has been struck with enthusiasm, and, while I remain in this country, the flame shall be fanned with ardour and perseverance: but we look to a higher Power for the oil which is to feed and support it, and, above all, to the protecting and encouraging influence of true principles and British philanthropy to shield it, not only against the blasts of adversity, but the no less destructive vapours of indifference and neglect. However anxious I may feel to devote the best portion of my life, and however much my fortune might justify a longer residence in this country, I have reason to feel that my health is not likely to carry me through more than five or six years' continuance in these islands: it is, therefore, necessary that I should look forward to a period when the influence of my personal presence and exertions will be withdrawn. I am now endeavouring to lay the foundations as broad as possible, and have already selected fit instruments for the furtherance of my plans in several of the more important stations: but, that I may raise

more labourers for the field, it is important that they should have a high and steady superintending authority to look to, and have support at home as the labourers in the African cause at all times have had. If our objects and principles are the same, and the field as wide and important, why should this fair and interesting portion of the globe, superior by far in extent of its population, and equal in its resources, and so peculiar in its character, be left to slumber in ignorance, while the wilder shores of Africa, and the more distant isles of the South Sea alone invite the attention of the philanthropist?"

"Hitherto it has been left to the mercy of the Moor and the Dutchman, and it might be difficult to decide which has been the most injurious. For my part I am inclined to prefer the former, but perhaps my prejudices against the Dutch may carry me too far. Be that as it may, we are now independent of both. The station which has been established at Singapore, at the southern extremity of the Malayan Peninsula, has given us the command of the Archipelago as well in peace as in war: our commerce will extend to every part, and British principles will be known and felt throughout."

"I ought to apologise for the length of this letter. I will not say I envy the African because he enjoys so much larger a portion of your thoughts and attention, but I cannot help adding that I wish they were, even for a short time, directed to the Malay, the Javan, the Sumatran, the Bornean, the Avaneese, the Siamese, the Chinese, the Japanese, and the millions of others

with whom I am daily in communication, and to whom the name of William Wilberforce, if not entirely unknown, is only coupled with that of Africa. I know, my dear sir, that the boundless goodness of your heart, and the noble stretch of your mind embraces at once the good of all mankind: but perhaps from an impression that individual exertions are best directed to one particular focus or object, or more probably from the absence of correct information of the importance and necessity of your influence in these seas, the subject may not have sufficiently attracted your attention."

"I have observed it noticed in a late publication that it is upon Asiatic soil only that the advocates of slave abolition are to gain their final victory, and that upon the British Asiatic policy in the development of the unbounded resources of Asia depends the ascendancy of the British character. The writer most probably drew his conclusions from very different premises, and they so strikingly illustrate what I mean that I could not help noticing them."

"You must remember also that we have many of the woolly race scattered over these islands, from the Andamans to New Guinea, and that there have not been wanting people who consider them the aborigines of the country, and that the Malay language extends westward as far as Madagascar, and that however remote these islands may be from Africa geographically, and distinct from it politically in the present condition of the world, there are traces of a more intimate connection in former times. I mention this to show that we have claims upon you as the friend of Africa, for I am

far from concurring in the opinion regarding the aborigines of these islands, and rather consider the Kaffirs we now find in them to have been brought by traders in remote periods as slaves, as such they are generally regarded and treated whenever entrapped."

"The same political objection which might be stated to the interference of your Society in Bengal, where we have an extensive dominion and an efficient Government to provide for all its wants, does not apply to the country beyond the Ganges. With these our intercourse is entirely commercial, and our object is to raise the native Governments into consideration and importance: the stronger and more enlightened these are, the safer our communication, the more extensive our commerce, and the more important the connection. There is hardly one of these states whose history, resources and population, is known to the world. A part of my plan is to encourage the collection of all interesting details on these subjects, and I could wish that the persons who devote their time to these objects should possess the means of communicating the information to the public. You will perceive that we are not idle, and that the spirit which has gone forth only requires to be properly directed and supported to lead to results of the most promising nature."

In this connection Raffles tells Wilberforce that he had handed over to a native chief a seal, which he had made as a present to him, because of the noble way in which the chief had acted towards his former slaves. Under the British administration, he was asked, as others were, to register his

family, domestic slaves whom he had inherited. He proudly answered:—"I will not register my slaves: they shall be free: hitherto they have been kept such, because it was the custom, and the Dutch liked to be attended by slaves: for long have I felt shame, and my blood has run cold when I have reflected on what I once saw at Batavia and Samarang, where human beings were exposed for public sale, placed on a table and examined like sheep and oxen."

Lady Raffles makes the remark that in Java the slaves were the property of the Europeans and Chinese alone: and that the native chiefs never required the services of slaves, nor engaged in the traffic of slavery. But in this, I think, she certainly was mistaken, for the Malayan chiefs, Arabs and many others, held slaves. In Malaya to-day there is still a good deal of domestic slavery, more or less concealed. It is only quite recently that slavery has been made illegal in some of the Malay States.

After one hundred years it is well to consider what is the condition of Java and Netherlands India. The contrast is very great, and much can be said, and has been said, in favour of the Dutch administration. One of the latest tributes is from Lord Cromer in reviewing in the *Spectator* a book by Donald Campbell MacLaine, who lived in Java for twenty-three years, where he had business connections. For many years he was in the British Consular Service. Married to a Dutch lady, he lived on intimate terms of friendship with the Dutch. His book he wrote in his later years, and

in it he says, “The Dutch have their national characteristics, as we have ours, but in honourable methods, always taking into consideration their desires for sureness, even if it is necessary slowness, they have nothing to learn from any nation, and would be able to give, perhaps, a good many points to some. They are a people of very high integrity.”

Lord Cromer writes :—“ The system of administration adopted by the Dutch bears a somewhat close resemblance to that of the native states of India, save that in the latter the native rulers enjoy a greater degree of independence than in Java. The Dutch have been wise enough to preserve the framework and outward and visible signs of the old native administration. The people are nominally ruled by their chiefs, who, however, are mere puppets in the hands of the Dutch. The native princes are kept in a good temper by receiving liberal subsidies to replace the loss of their former incomes. Besides this, as Mr. Campbell says, they have enormous incomes from their private estates. The real power is vested in a Governor-General, who is aided by a Council, consisting of a Vice-President and four members. There can be no doubt that under Dutch government the material prosperity of the inhabitants of Java has enormously increased. The Javans, too, are a prolific race. In rather over one hundred years the population has risen from three millions to over thirty millions.” Mr. Campbell observes that this is a rate unequalled anywhere else in the world.

Gottfried Simon gives the present population of

the whole of the Dutch East Indies as forty-two millions, of which about thirty-five millions, some five-sixths, are Mohammedans.

CHAPTER IX.

HIGH ENDEAVOUR.

MR. RAFFLES took a keen and a practical interest in all Christian work. So early as October 5, 1819, writing to a friend from Bencoolen, he said, "I have much to communicate to you on the subject of our Bible Society and schools, of the latter particularly. My attention during the last two months has been very closely directed to the moral condition of our population. Schools of the Lancasterian plan have been adopted with success, and I am now proposing the establishment of a native college at Singapore. I mean in the first instance to submit my plans to the Government of Bengal, and, if possible, carry Lord Hastings with me. Some aid from the Company is indispensable, and his Lordship has evinced a general desire to support similar institutions."

"I can assure you we are not idle, and, if we do not make more noise about what we are doing, it is because we are more intent on the real object than the acquisition of credit for what we do: it is the pleasure and satisfaction which the labour itself affords, and the gratification a favourable result may ensure that we work, and not for the uncertain praise and applause of the day. I enclose the first report of our Bible Society: it says but little but to the purpose, and it may be in-

teresting as the first production of a small press which I have established at Bencoolen."

The same month of October, 1819, finds him on board the brig "Favourite" on his solitary way to Calcutta, for he had to sail without his wife, as all the accommodation the captain could offer was to arrange a part of the hold of the ship. "I am once more at sea. On deliberate consideration I resolved to proceed to Bengal for the advantage of personal communication. The size of the vessel, the season of the year, about the change of the monsoon, have weighed with me in leaving Sophia (his wife) at Bencoolen: distressing as the separation must be, I do not regret that I am alone, for we have experienced very bad weather, and it is as much as I can do to stand up against all the privations and annoyances of the vessel."

"My views of the Eastern Islands are extensive, and, I think, important to our commercial and political interests. The field is large, new, and interesting, and in spite of all your service, self, I can assure you, is never viewed or reflected upon by me with any other feelings than those of patriotism, benevolence, and duty. Hitherto you have not had a word of my commercial plans, I will give you some account of these. Here my measures have met with general approbation. They are admitted by the Supreme Government to be founded on sound principles of economy, good government, and humanity."

"My absence from the seat of government, with little or no communication for upwards of eleven months, during which the charge of the place necessarily devolved on a person who did not com-

prehend the principles on which I acted, has afforded the means of proving that there was nothing in the nature of these principles calculated to create commotion, or to occasion dangerous consequences: that, in fact, such an apprehension was a mere bugbear created in the confused noddles of those who were ignorant or afraid of their advantage, and supported those who knew no better: that innovation and reform are attended with difficulties and dangers, no one will deny, but it is for him that carries them into effect to be prepared to meet and subdue them as they arise. I wish, however, those who were so ready to declare the impossibility of the change would now admit they were mistaken, and state the grounds of their misconception. They could not resist giving me at least the credit of overcoming what they conceived impossible. I would then simply ask their opinion on the contrast between what is and what was. You will recollect a conversation we had, previous to my embarking, on a very serious subject. To prove to you that I am not inattentive to these important interests on the largest scale, I refer you to what we have done towards the amelioration, civilization, and improvement of our population, the only rational steps which can be taken for eventually spreading the advantages of a higher nature, which we have derived from the comforts of revelation and religion.”

‘ There was always a good sound sense of real, virile strength, and a fine, brave playfulness in our hero. In writing to this same friend, he says:—
“ My health and constitution will not admit of my

remaining many years in India, and I must endeavour, by an increased activity, to make up for want of time. When do you think I shall get home? Will seven years' 'banishment' be enough for all my sins? or must I linger till I can sin no more?"

Letters written during this voyage are of great interest. To the Duchess of Somerset, under date of November 9, 1819, in the Bay of Bengal, Sir Stamford writes:—"I had hardly arrived at Bencoolen when events occurred which made this voyage indispensable. An opening seems now to be afforded for extending my views and plans. If I succeed I shall have enough to occupy my attention while I remain in the East: but if not, I can only return to Bencoolen, and enjoy domestic retirement in the bosom of my family."

"In this country, you will be happy to hear, we have completely turned the tables on the Dutch. The occupation of Singapore has been the death-blow to all their plans: and I trust that our political and commercial interests will be adequately secured, notwithstanding the unhandsome and ungenerous manner in which ministers have treated me individually, or the indifference they have shown to the subject. I am perfectly aware that they would not like the agitation of the question: but they ought to have been aware that it could not be avoided, and that, however easy it may be in the Cabinet to sacrifice the best interests of the nation, there are spirits and voices engendered by principles of our constitution that will not remain quiet under it. But a truce to politics: you are already informed that Lady Raffles pre-

sented me with a son and heir while at Penang. He is a fine stout boy, and as bold as a lion: the reverse of your goddaughter in almost everything. It is now a month since I left them, and two more will elapse before I see them."

"I intended to have sent your Grace a detailed account of my mission to Achin, where I had to put the crown on the proper head: but the subject is so mixed with political matter that, I fear, it would be of but little interest. What can you care about a kingdom at the other end of the world, where the people have no peculiar virtues to recommend them? I was detained in the country for two months, and, to give you an idea of my employment, it may be sufficient to state that our proceedings filled upwards of a thousand pages of the Company's largest-sized paper. This is the laborious way in which we are sometimes obliged to do business in India, and will perhaps account for my unwillingness to enlarge farther on a subject of which I must be pretty well tired."

To his cousin, the Rev. Dr. Raffles, he wrote, after telling of his efforts in the Bible Society work and his plans for the college at Singapore—"If you refer to the map and observe the commanding position of Singapore, situated at the extremity of the Malay Peninsula, you will see at once what a field is open for our operations. The Baptist Missionary Society has lately written to me on the subject of sending out missionaries. My answer is encouraging, and I have accompanied it by some general observations on the plan of conversion. We have already one young man (Carey), and a small printing press: but we require active zeal, and I

shall find enough to do for all you can send out : but let us make haste—years roll on very fast. Two years have elapsed since I left England, and in five or six more I hope to think of returning. There is no political objection whatever to missionaries in this part of the East, and, so far from obstructing, they may be expected to hasten and assist the plans which are already in operation.”

“ I wish to bespeak your good offices, and the exertion of all your energies, in the support of an institution I am about to form for generally educating the higher class of natives. I have written to Mr. Wilberforce on the subject. I promise glorious results, and all I ask is support and encouragement, not so much for myself, but to aid and foster a proper spirit in those who must practically assist, and on whom the immediate superintendence and labour must fall, when I am over the seas and far away. All improvements of this nature must be slow and gradual, and we should look a good deal ahead. The short time that I may remain in India will only serve to set the machine in motion, and how uncertain after all is life !”

Writing to another friend, Sir Stamford speaks of the great importance of the island of Billiton, lying midway between Banka and Borneo, and of other parts he had in view for a large forward policy of development. Some ports which had all along kept out the power of the Dutch, by closing their trade down, were now prepared to reopen, if assured of the alliance of the British and the non-interference of the Dutch. Raffles argued that an establishment at Billiton of the same kind as at

Singapore would give Britain a great advantage. Singapore commanded the Straits of Malacca. Billiton commanded the Straits of Sunda, and would protect the trade to and from China by that route in the days of sailing ships, as all trade was in those times, which now seem like ages ago.

The noble unselfish spirit of Raffles is clearly seen in some of his private correspondence at that period. To the Duchess of Somerset—"I do all I can to raise myself above these feelings in the hope that there is, even in this world, more happiness than we weak mortals can comprehend. I have had enough sorrow in my short career: and it still comes too ready a guest without my bidding: but I drive it from my door, and do my best to preserve my health and spirits that I may last out a few years longer, and contribute, as far as I can, to the happiness of others." He was then writing from Calcutta, and was after his voyage, under such disagreeable circumstances, feeling very unwell. To continue—"But away with this melancholy strain. I fear I am getting as bad as those to whom I would preach, and, in truth, I am heavy and sick at heart. I could lay me down and cry and weep for hours together, and yet I know not why, except that I am unhappy. But for my dear sister's arrival, I should still have been a solitary wretch in this busy capital. Of my public views and plans I have not much to say: we remain quite neutral, pending the reference to Europe. . . . I do not set my heart on anything much, save returning to England as soon as possible. On my return to Benecoolen I shall probably be able to speak more decidedly. . . .

I must look out for some cottage or farm, and, profiting by the distresses of the great landlords, endeavour to sell butter and cheese to advantage."

From a letter of January, 1820, we learn that he was detained a month longer than he expected, on account of a severe and trying illness. He had just got on board ship: and reported himself convalescent. "Singapore, I am happy to say, continues to rise most rapidly in importance and resources. It is already one of the first ports of the East, and I doubt not will receive very favourable reports by every homeward-bound ship. I could write volumes in its favour, but it may suffice to say that it has in every respect answered beyond my most sanguine expectations."

"On leaving Calcutta you will expect some opinion from me. Here, as in England, I find that my presence has served to dissipate many a cloud, and that opposition has receded as I have approached. There is a very favourable disposition to me personally, but, I believe, still more so to my plans, which are now approved of, and upheld by all descriptions of persons, high and low. The following note which I have received from a high and influencing authority will speak for itself:—'Your very interesting report, regarding the commercial relations of the Eastern Islands, is still in circulation with the members of government. It will not, probably, lead to any practical result in this country, but will, of course, be brought to the notice of the authorities at home. I should sincerely rejoice to see adopted the admirable scheme which you have sketched for the organization and management of our Eastern pos-

sessions. I am surprised that the commercial men of Calcutta have not more distinctly marked their sense of the great advantages likely to accrue to their commercial interests of India and England from the successful prosecution of your plan.'” But Sir Stamford adds:—“With regard to the commercial men nothing can exceed the attention I have received from them: they gave me a public dinner, and made every demonstration to me personally during my stay: but they wait till I leave to send in a written representation to Government, which, for many reasons, it is better should be done during my absence.”

CHAPTER X.

BENCOOLEN AND THE BATAKS.

SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES on his return to Bencoolen, when off Sumatra, February 12, 1820, unburdens himself to the Duchess of Somerset. "You will have condemned me for so long a silence, yet when you know the cause you will cease to think unkindly. For the last month of my stay in Calcutta I was confined to my bed and forbidden to write or even to think. I was removed from my room to the ship with very little strength, but I am happy to say I am already nearly recovered: the sight of Sumatra, and the health-inspiring breezes of the Malayan islands have effected a wonderful change. Though I still feel weak, and am as thin as a scarecrow, I may fairly say that I am in good health and spirits."

He recommends her ladyship to read Mr. Marsden's History of Sumatra as to the fact that the Bataks were cannibals—"Now do not be surprised at what I shall tell you regarding them, for I tell the truth and nothing but the truth. To prepare you a little, I must promise that the Bataks are an extensive and populous nation of Sumatra, who occupy the whole of that part of the island lying between Achin and Menangkabu, reaching to both shores. The coast is but thinly inhabited, but in the interior the people are said to be as thick as the leaves of the forest, perhaps

one to two million of souls. They have a regular government, deliberative assemblies, and are great orators: nearly the whole of them can write, and they possess a language and written character peculiar to themselves. They are warlike, extremely fair and honourable in all their dealings, most deliberate in all their proceedings: their country is highly cultivated, and crimes are few. Mr. Marsden has not gone half far enough in saying they are cannibals. He seems to consider that it is only in cases of prisoners taken in war, or in extreme cases of adultery that the practice of man-eating is resorted to, and then only in a fit of revenge."

Raffles had paid a visit to Tappanooly in the heart of the Battak country to satisfy himself as to the facts reported as to their cannibal habits. Before going he had caused enquiries to be made, but was determined to learn at first hand the actual state of affairs. He writes:—"I have said the Battaks are not a bad people, and I still think so, notwithstanding they eat one another, and relish the flesh of a man better than that of an ox or pig. You must merely consider that I am giving an account of a novel state of society. The Battaks are not savages. They have codes of laws of great antiquity, and it is from a regard for these laws, and a veneration for the institutions of their ancestors that they eat one another: the law declares that for certain crimes, four in number, the criminals shall be eaten ALIVE. The same law declares that in great wars, one district with another, it shall be lawful to eat the prisoners, whether taken alive, dead, or in their graves. In

the four cases of crimes the criminal is duly tried and condemned by a competent tribunal. After the evidence is heard sentence is pronounced, then the chiefs drink a dram each. This last ceremony is equivalent to signing and sealing with us. Two or three days then elapse to give time for assembling the people. The prisoner is then brought forward on the day appointed, and fixed to a stake with his hands extended. The party injured comes up and takes the first choice, generally the ears: the rest then, according to their rank, take the pieces they like. After all have partaken the chief goes up and cuts off the head, which he carries home as a trophy. The head is hung up in front of the house. In devouring the flesh it is sometimes eaten raw, sometimes grilled, but it must be eaten on the spot. Limes, salt and pepper are always in readiness, and they sometimes eat rice with the flesh, but never drink toddy or spirits: many carry bamboos with them, and filling them with blood, drink it off. The assembly consisted of men alone, as the flesh of men is prohibited to the females: it is said, however, that they get a bit by stealth now and again. I really do believe that many of the people prefer human flesh to any other."

"On expressing my surprise at the continuance of such extraordinary practices, I was informed it was usual to eat their parents when too old for work. The old people selected the horizontal branch of a tree, and quietly suspended themselves by their hands, while their children and neighbours, forming a circle, danced round them crying out, 'When the fruit is ripe, then it will fall.' So

soon as the victims become fatigued, and can hold out no longer, they fall down, when all hands cut them up and make a hearty meal of them. This practice has been abandoned, and thus a step in civilization has been attained, and, therefore, there are hopes for the future. It is calculated that no less than sixty to one hundred Battaks are eaten in a year in times of peace."

"I was going to give your Grace much about the treatment of the females and children, but I will conclude, entreating you not to think the worse of me for this horrible revelation. You know that I am far from wishing to paint any of the Malay race in the worse colours, but yet I must tell the truth. Notwithstanding the practices I have related, it is my determination to take Lady Raffles into the interior to spend a month or so with the Battaks. Should any accident occur to us, or should we never be heard of more, you may conclude we have been eaten."

"I am half afraid to send this scrawl, and yet it may amuse you, if it does not, then throw it into the fire: and still believe that, though half a cannibal and living among cannibals, I am no less warm in heart and soul. In the deepest recesses of the forest, and among the most savage of all tribes, my heart still clings to those afar off, and I do believe that even were I present at a Battak feast, I should be thinking of kind friends at Maiden Bradley."

In writing to Mr. W. Marsden at the same time he speaks of the forthcoming work by Crawford, and mentions that he has a good deal of material that Marsden might find useful for a new edition of

his work on Sumatra, and quietly says that he is not desirous of publishing, and yet would be sorry if the information were lost. He writes of his hopes and plans for the college at Singapore, and asks to be favoured with the views of Marsden on that and other subjects. He anticipates that he would have to face full five months' arrears of work when he got back to Bencoolen. A fortnight later he again writes to Marsden, telling him of his last visit to the Battaks. Sir Stamford gives the evidence he had procured, which he describes as clear and concurring testimony of all parties that the common practice in their cannibalism was not to kill the victims till the whole of the flesh was cut off and eaten, should they live so long. The bones were scattered abroad after the flesh had been eaten, and the head, which belonged to the chief, alone was kept. They did not eat the bowels, but liked the heart. (The eating of the heart seems to have been common enough among semi-barbarous tribes. The present writer used to hear the Rev. George Smith, of Swatow, tell how the local Chinese, in their clan fights, in the fifties and sixties, used to tear out the hearts of their enemies and eat them. A remnant, perhaps, of a former cannibal custom).

Raffles enters at length to describe what he had learned of the Battaks. He says:—"I could give you many more details, but the above may be sufficient to show that our friends are even worse than you have represented them. I have a great deal to say on the other side of the character, for the Battaks have many virtues. I prize them highly. However horrible eating a man may

sound in European ears, I question whether the party suffers so much, or the punishment itself is worse than in the European tortures of two centuries ago. Here they certainly are eaten up at once, and the party seldom suffers more than for a few minutes. Adverting to the possible origin of this practice, it was observed that formerly they ate their parents when they were too old to work. I have arranged to pay a visit to Toba, and the banks of the great lake, in the course of next year. Lady Raffles will, I hope, accompany me, and I shall endeavour to give up full six weeks for the trip. I am perfectly satisfied we shall be safe, and I hardly know any people on whom I would sooner rely than the Battaks."

In this connection it is well to note that Mr. Ward, who was one of the famous missionary trio of Serampore, four days after his arrival at Tappanooly commenced an excursion into the Battak country with Mr. Burton. This was in 1820, and Mr. Burton, as Lady Raffles relates, had got permission to leave Beneoolen to settle, with his wife and family, in the Battak country for the purpose of establishing schools, and devoting his life to the education and uplift of these people.

He was exceedingly well received, and the people gladly availed themselves of the means of instruction thus afforded them: but after years of hard work both he and his wife fell a sacrifice to the climate. A tender tribute is paid to them by Lady Raffles, who bears her testimony to their brightness of faith, their humble trust in God, their total sacrifice of all personal comfort, with the determination there to live and die: there, to devote

themselves to their labour of love, in the hope of conveying the glad tidings of the Gospel to those who were yet to learn that the Son of God died for them.

Ward and Barton penetrated as far as the lake of Toba. The hill people, thousands of them crowding to see white people for the first time, received them in a way which recalled what they had read of the reception of the first visits of the Spaniards to South America. Some venerated them as gods, paying them great respect. At a gathering of the chiefs the objects of their mission were explained. They assured Mr. Burton of a hearty welcome, and so far as he and his family went, they redeemed their promise. In 1834, however, the two American missionaries, Munson and Lyman, were killed and eaten by the Battaks. No other missionaries attempted to settle among them till the year 1856. The Dutch missionary, Van Asselt, worked in the southern part of the Battak country, which was then already overrun with Islam, and he met with but little success.

In 1861 the Rhenish Missionary Society sent its pioneer, Dr. I. L. Mommensen, who has had such great and signal success among the purely heathen tribes of the Battaks in the north. The story of this work is one of the most delightful of any in the Middle East, whether in regard to the German or other workers, the Battak Christians themselves, the teachers and the taught. The Mission Inspector, Dr. John Warneck, speaks of the widespread influence of this endeavour, specially during the last twenty years, northwards from lake Toba and finding an entrance into every district. In the

south, too, even among the nominally Moham-
medan districts as well as among the heathen, it
is confidently expected that the time is not far
distant when all will be Christian. But stubborn
resistance may be looked for from those tribes that
have embraced Mohammedanism.

The total Battak population to-day is estimated
at between 600,000 and 700,000: 103,528 of these
have been received into the Christian Church by
baptism, and there are in addition 11,200 candi-
dates for baptism. There are 29 ordained native
pastors, 659 preachers, teachers and evangelists,
and 1125 elders who serve the Church as voluntary
helpers. There are 494 schools attended by
27,485 children. Missionaries have no longer any
trouble in gaining admission to heathen tribes. On
the contrary, they are frequently entreated to
come, erect schools, and give instruction for
baptism. It is harvest-time upon a great scale.

CHAPTER XI.

SINGAPORE.

By March, 1820, Sir Stamford Raffles was again settled in Bencoolen. Having done his great life-work, without quite knowing it, he now devoted himself to his favourite pursuits. A charming picture is drawn, by his widow, of this period of their lives. He built a country-house, and soon as one room was ready, he took with him part of the family and occupied himself in cultivating the ground, forming spice plantations to a large extent and introduced the cultivation of coffee. The labour force were convicts, who were settled in a village, and soon became a useful community. The beauty, the retirement, the quiet domestic life which he led in this happy retreat soon restored his health. He rose at four in the morning, worked in his garden (in which he always planted all the seeds himself) until breakfast, then wrote and studied till dinner, after which he examined his plantations, always accompanied by his children, and often walked about until a late hour of the night.

From a letter we learn that much as he enjoyed this place, and his life in the bosom of his family, he regretted that the civil servants had literally nothing to do in Bencoolen, and adds that they ought to be transferred to some other settlement, and not be allowed to waste their time, life and health there in idleness.

To Mr. Marsden he wrote of his purpose of sending the whole of his zoological collection home, which was to lead to the establishment of the Zoological Gardens, of which he was the real founder as his bust in the Lion House testifies. About this time he wrote, "I have thrown politics away : and, since I must have nothing more to do with men, have taken to the wilder but less sophisticated animals of the woods. Our house is on one side a perfect menagerie, on another a perfect flora."

The outstanding event not only in the life of Sir Stamford, but in the whole history of the Far East, was undoubtedly the founding of Singapore, which shaped the entire subsequent course of shipping, commerce, agriculture and industry with the attendant political events, and the expansion of British influence from the Straits of Malacca to China and Japan, and to all the countries that lie between and spread themselves out to the Southern Ocean.

After Raffles had made his peace with the Marquis of Hastings at Calcutta, and gained the object of his heart's desire, through Lord Hastings really inclined to recommend the exchange of Bencoolen for Malacca, Raffles from his knowledge of Malayan history, and his keen statesman's view of the unique natural position of Singapore, had his mind fully made up, and was just waiting his opportunity.

The statement that the Karimons were the original selection of Sir Stamford, for the contemplated British station, is contradicted by Lady Raffles, who says her husband, merely out of courtesy to Colonel Farquhar, while he was Resident of

Malacca, surveyed these islands, but with no intention of diverting his attention from the classic soil of Singapore.

The fateful day and hour were drawing near, and we find Raffles writing Marsden, on December 12, 1818, on board ship, off the Sandheads :—" We are now on our way to the eastward, in the hope of doing something, but I much fear the Dutch have hardly left us an inch to stand upon. My attention is principally turned to Johore, and you must not be surprised if my next letter is dated from the site of the ancient city of Singapura." Knowing that he could not get his object carried out with any assistance from the government of Penang, Raffles wrote, from the mouth of the Ganges, to the officer commanding the troops at Bencoolen, requesting him to bring the needed military force round by the Straits of Sunda, where a vessel would meet him with instructions.

Again on January 16, 1819, he writes :—" God only knows where next you may hear from me. By neglecting to occupy the place we lost Rhio, and shall have difficulty in establishing ourselves elsewhere, but I shall certainly attempt it. I think I may rely on the Marquis: his last words to me were that I might depend on him."

Sir Stamford was then on his visit to Achin, and had to call at Penang, where he had nothing but cold water thrown on his plans, because Penang and the powers that then were had failed to find a site for a British station, but Raffles, son of an old sea-dog, was a man who knew his own mind, and was not to be deterred by difficulties, or discouragements. The Dutch had, as they thought,

succeeded in occupying every available station within the Eastern Archipelago, and they had not hesitated to declare their supremacy, and to publish their prohibitory regulations for the exclusion of British commerce, and the exercise of their own sovereignty over and throughout the Eastern Seas.

Sir Stamford, with the innate sense of the fitness of the thing he was doing, confirmed by much thought, backed by his extensive reading and a wide sweep of the eventualities for which he was providing, proceeded straight from Penang, strongly determined to accomplish the duty entrusted to him, and in ten days' sail, after quitting Prince of Wales' Island, he landed and hoisted the British flag at Singapore on the 29th day of January, 1819. The next day a preliminary agreement was made with the Tumunggong of Johore, and the definite treaty was signed on February 5th by the Sultan and Sir T. S. Raffles. The celebration of the foundation of the settlement of Singapore is fixed as the 6th February, on which day the proclamation of the British Establishment there was issued.

Sir Stamford, in the pride of his heart, writing to his ever faithful and appreciative friend, Mr. Marsden, says:—"Here I am in Singapore, true to my word, and in the enjoyment of all the pleasures which a footing on such classic ground must inspire. The lines of the old city, and its defences, are still to be traced, and within its ramparts the British Union Jack waves unmolested. (Date January 31st).

"Most certainly the Dutch never had a factory

in the island of Singapore: and it does not appear to me that their recent arrangements, with a subordinate authority at Rhio, can, or ought to, interfere with our permanent establishment here."

"This place possesses an excellent harbour, and everything that can be desired for a British port in the island of St. John's, which forms the southwestern point of the harbour. We have commanded an intercourse with all the ships passing through the Straits of Singapore. We are within a week's sail of China, close to Siam, and in the very seat of the Malayan empire. This, therefore, will probably be my last attempt. If I am deserted now I would fain return to Bencoolen and become a philosopher. We are making very considerable collections in natural history: and if the political arrangements, which I now contemplate, are adopted and confirmed, we shall have it in our power to do a great deal in every department."

Colonel Farquhar (whose daughter the present writer had the pleasure of meeting in Edinburgh some twenty-five years ago) was chosen by Raffles to be placed in charge of Singapore, with the permission of Bengal, and he delayed his return home to take up the appointment. Sir Stamford was only a few days in Singapore on this occasion, for we find him writing from Penang, on February 19th, 1819, telling of the occupation of Singapore, which he describes as one of the safest and most extensive harbours, with every facility for protecting shipping in time of war.

To the Duchess of Somerset, he writes also from Penang, on February 22, 1819. He tells of his constant rambles, and says it seems to him that he

is never to enjoy rest and repose, which he at heart so much longed for. He briefly describes his return from Calcutta to Penang, and asks her Grace to look at the map and trace the whereabouts of Singapore. He refers to the fact that this island was the site of the ancient maritime capital of the Malays, within the walls of the old fortifications, razed before he landed, and that he had erected the pole on which he had left the British flag flying, where, he trusted, it would long triumphantly wave.

Raffles then proceeded to Achin to carry out the duties he was expected to attend to before taking over Singapore. The task there was to decide on whose right it was to wear the crown. A native merchant settled in Penang had endeavoured to establish a claim to it. By his command of money he had done all he could to strengthen his claim, and actually tried to bribe Lady Raffles, as she says, with the only bribe ever offered to her. This was a casket of diamonds which was presented, and as Lady Raffles records, "it seemed to create much surprise that it was not even looked at!"

Sir Stamford was absent three months on this business. On his return he only stayed a few days in Penang and then got back to Singapore. Here he took a keen interest in marking out the future town, and gave Colonel Farquhar his instructions as to the management and development of the new colony. Several letters of his, under date of June, 1819, evince his great satisfaction in having gained the object of his constant endeavour. "I will say nothing of the importance which I attach to the permanence of the position I have taken up at

Singapore: it is a child of my own: but for my Malay studies I should hardly have known that such a place existed. Not only the European, but the Indian world was also ignorant of it. I am sure that you will wish me success: if my plans are confirmed at home, it is my intention to make this my principal residence, and to devote the remaining years of my stay in the East to the advancement of a colony, which, in every way in which it can be viewed, bids fair to be one of the most important, and at the same time one of the least expensive and troublesome which we possess. Our object is not territory, but trade: a great commercial emporium, and a fulcrum, whence we may extend our influence politically as circumstances may hereafter require. By taking immediate possession, we put a negative to the Dutch claims of exclusion, and at the same time revive the drooping confidence of our allies and our friends. One free port in these seas must eventually destroy the spell of Dutch monopoly: and what Malta is in the West that may Singapore become in the East."

He tells of his favourite recreations, apart from his public duties of administration and the discussions with the Dutch authorities. He continued to make considerable additions to his natural history collections and to botany, and ever was on the alert to learn all he could of the peoples who came under his notice, either from first hand knowledge, or from the reports and writings of others. He held that Sumatra, which had few relics of former civilization and arts, which abounded in Java, was probably a thousand years behind that island,

To the Duchess he writes telling of the birth of a son in Penang, while he was away in Achin:—
 “ One of the most beautiful boys that eyes ever beheld. He is three months to-day. Our troubles are not yet over, as we have a sea voyage (to Bencoolen) of at least a month before us.”

“ My new colony thrives most rapidly. We have not been established four months, and it has received an accession of population exceeding five thousand, principally Chinese, and their number is daily increasing. You may easily conceive with what zeal I apply myself to the clearing of forests, cutting of roads, building of towns, framing of laws, etc.”

“ It bids fair to be the next port to Calcutta. You take my word for it this is by far the most important station in the East : and, as far as naval superiority and commercial interests are concerned, of much higher value than whole continents of territory.”

One of the results of this visit to Achin was that Raffles was able to write to Mr. Marsden, and report that he had found a fine harbour on the north side of the island of Pulau Way, the best in the Achin dominions, and until then unknown to Europeans. This we have seen in recent years opened up by the Hollanders as a port of call, a wireless, and a coaling station, which is now well known as Sabang.

Sir Stamford tells Sir Robert Hugh Inglis, on the eve of his return to Bencoolen, that “ under any circumstances Bencoolen would have struck me as more insignificant and unimportant than any one of the twenty-two Residencies lately under my

authority as Lieutenant-Governor of Java." He gives good and sufficient reasons why Singapore should be his scene of action rather than this out-of-the-world place. But he never let a prospect of other duties, under different circumstances, deter him from making the best of things as they were, wherever he happened to be placed.

He made visits into the interior, as we have already stated, and on two occasions Lady Raffles accompanied him in journeys to Menangkabu, that interesting country from which came the Malays of Malacca and Johore, whose language forms the standard for the widely scattered Malays over the Peninsula, Borneo and many other islands.

Raffles recounts how he had refused to let the Dutch Commissioner take charge of Padang, by far the most important, indeed the only valuable station, on the west coast of Sumatra. The reason being that Raffles wanted an outstanding account between the two governments settled before allowing the Dutch flag to be run up, because he had found that, once he had allowed the Dutch flag to be hoisted at Java, the Dutch would do nothing to settle their financial obligations. The result was the return of the Commissioner to Batavia for further instructions. Then, as the Dutch refused to waive the point, Raffles remained resolute and referred the matter to Bengal. Meanwhile he decided to make himself acquainted with Padang, and to attempt a visit to Menangkabu.

It is best always to let Sir Stamford speak for himself:—"Menangkabu, the ancient capital of the Malayan empire, of which Europeans in these seas had heard so much, but which no European

had yet seen. The difficulties far exceeded those we had met with at Pasumah, but I determined to overcome them. We accomplished our object, and during a journey of fifteen days, principally on foot, we passed over a distance of, at least, two hundred and fifty miles, which no European foot had before trodden, crossing mountains not less than five thousand feet in elevation: sometimes whole days along the course of rapid torrents, on others in highly cultivated plains, and throughout the whole in a country in the highest degree interesting."

"We here found the wreck of a great empire hardly known to us by name, and the evident source whence all the Malayan colonies now scattered along the coast of the Archipelago first sprang, a population of between one and two millions, a cultivation highly advanced, and manners, customs, and productions in a great degree new and undescribed. I can hardly describe to you the delight with which I first entered the rich and populous country of Menangkabu, and discovered after four days' journey, through the mountains and forests, this great source of interest and wealth.

"To me it is quite classic ground, but, had I found nothing more than the ruins of an ancient city, I should have felt repaid for the journey, but when, in addition to this, I found so extensive a population, so fertile a country, and so admirable a post whence to commence and effect the civilization of Sumatra, the sensation was of a nature that does not admit of description. Instead of jealousy and distrust, on the part of the natives, they re-

ceived us with the utmost hospitality, and though their manners were rude, and sometimes annoying, it was impossible to misunderstand their intentions, which were most friendly. They have but one request, that I would not allow the Dutch to come to Padang. (They assigned as their reason—‘For the twenty years that the place had been in our possession great changes had taken place, new interests had arisen, children then unborn had become men, and those who were friends with the Dutch were now no more.’) I pacified them by receiving an address, which they wrote in public, to the King of England, soliciting his attention to their interests. I found, on subsequent enquiry, that the Dutch influence had never extended beyond the mountains, but had been expressly limited to the western side of them, so did not hesitate to enter into a commercial treaty of friendship and alliance with the Sultan of Menangkabu, as the Lord paramount of all the Malay countries, subject to the approval of Lord Hastings.”

Raffles complains that the Dutch did all they could to prevent not only the orderly commerce of the British in these seas, but also their determination to keep us out of the Archipelago altogether, and argued that, unless we immediately occupied some station, for the security of our own trade, it would be in the power of the Dutch, without direct acts of hostility, to interfere with it, and seriously embarrass our future intercourse.

By the Peace of Amiens, this convention with Holland, had placed British interests in a parlous state in the East, without the politicians in Great

Britain at all realising what they had done by being parties to the compact. But the man on the spot he knew. He told Sir Robert Inglis that the case called loudly for the interference of the powers in Europe.

Sir Stamford writes :—" From the period of our first establishment in India our interests and policy have been opposed to those of the Dutch. We found them in possession of the sovereignty of Java and the Moluccas, and, by an arrangement with the different chiefs of the Archipelago, enjoying the monopoly of the whole trade. In order to maintain this monopoly unimpaired, they first claimed the sovereignty of the seas, and refused admission to our ships, but our interests, particularly as connected with China, soon over-ruled this claim, and a free navigation was admitted. We had, however, no sooner obtained this than we felt ourselves entitled to participate in some of the advantages of the Eastern commerce. We found that European as well as Indian manufactures were in constant demand, and, as the Dutch power declined, the enterprise of our merchants and the dealing of the natives became more daring, until at last the former traded openly, and the latter declared their independence of Dutch control."

" Where the Dutch authority was not actually withdrawn a compromise was made with the local resident, and, with the exception of Java and the Moluccas, the English at last found themselves in possession of all the valuable trade of the Archipelago. This trade, it is true, was established on the decline and ruin of the Dutch power : but in order to secure it, we felt ourselves perfectly

justified in founding the settlement of Penang, and our right to a fair share of the southern trade has never been questioned. At last, in 1795, we took possession, on account of the Stadholder, of the important stations of Malacca and Padang. Although these, as well as the Moluecas, were restored by the treaty of Amiens (1802) they have remained in our hands till now : the Dutch power being too weak to attempt the resumption of such distant settlements. Thus for twenty years have our traders had an unrestricted intercourse with the different states of the Archipelago, while the native vessels were at liberty to come without molestation to our settlements at Penang and Malacca."

" I come now to another period in the history of these islands. In 1811 we conquered Java, and from that time became supreme over the East as well as the West of India."

" The instructions to Lord Minto, which authorized the conquest, directed that, after dismantling the fortifications, the country should be given up in independence to the native chiefs. Holland at that time did not exist as a nation, and the prospect of transferring Java to France was not contemplated. The humane and benevolent mind revolted at the idea of suddenly transferring back to the natives a colony which had been in possession of European authority for two centuries. If such a policy were to be pursued, he conceived that it ought to be gradual : and while he took upon himself the responsibility of suspending, pending the reference to Europe, the rigid enforcement of the orders he had received, he did not hesitate to say that he had done so, and publicly to assure the

natives that they would, in the meantime, be allowed every degree of national liberty and independence consistent with the safety of the provisional government he had established. On this principle my government was regulated.”

“ You may judge with what surprise we received a copy of the convention (that of the Peace of Vienna, 1818) for the unconditional transfer of the country to the Dutch, as the first and only communication from Europe. The Dutch no sooner obtained possession than it became an object with them to lower the character of the British provisional administration, to displace those in whom we had confidence, and to obliterate, as far as possible, all recollections of our rule.”

“ Of this I do not complain : if our ministers, in the zenith of our magnanimity, chose to sacrifice the interests of five millions of people, and to cast them aside without notice or remembrance, it is not to be expected from the Dutch that they should be so very nice. Gratitude is not among the list of natural virtues : it is, perhaps, inconsistent with them : at least it is at variance with national pride and vanity. I am willing to leave the Dutch to the full enjoyment of all the improvements they are inclined to make in Java and the Moluccas : to give them the full advantage of all that they can fairly claim, and to patiently put up with all the ingratitude, rivalry, and even hostility, that is naturally to be expected : but I wish them to be confined to their proper ground. I wish them to leave us in possession of the advantages of that trade which we enjoyed in the year 1803, previous to the last war.”

No apology is at all necessary for quoting so fully this intensely interesting account of such great events. To continue:—"Not satisfied with those places which, at that date, were occupied by the European power, we find them grasping at the sovereignty of the whole of the Archipelago, taking advantage of our generosity and forbearance, and, profiting by the reduction of our naval establishment, they have sent to Batavia a force, both military and naval, of an alarming extent. The European troops in Java alone exceed 10,000 men, besides what are at the Moluccas and other out-stations. A large colonial army is raised, while a navy, consisting at present of one ninety-gun ship, one seventy-four, three frigates, eight corvettes and innumerable smaller vessels, manned with upwards of 1,700 Europeans, striking terror through all the adjacent countries." (What a change in these waters in a single century!)

"Thus armed they are perhaps excited by recollections of ancient maritime and commercial greatness, and no longer the corrupt agents of a bankrupt company. They are anxious to re-establish their supremacy to the full extent that it was acknowledged two centuries ago."

"It was in vain that I represented, while in England, that our settlements of Benecoolen and Penang were both too inconveniently situated to answer any useful purpose: the evil had not arisen, and it was conceived the Dutch would be slow as usual in their movements, and that at all events we had abundance of time. All that I could effect was to obtain instructions to watch and report their proceedings, and on these instructions I

have not failed to watch them narrowly, and to place before the higher authorities the dangers to which our interests are already subjected."

Sir Stamford Raffles then recapitulates, in a clear and succinct manner, the position of affairs in which he proved himself the statesman that he was, wherein he showed the then prevailing ignorance of the home authorities, a not uncommon occurrence of lack of wisdom now as then.

"It has been an object of our policy to admit and preserve the independence of the Bornean states. At the period of the conquest of Java, no European authority was established in any of them, but the ports were open to the general trader. Many of the princes of the states had risen into authority and independence, subsequent to the decline of the Dutch power: and with the exception of Banjer Masing, during the administration of Marshal Daendels, the Sultan had fairly bought the Dutch out. They withdrew, leaving him, by a written declaration, independent, on condition of his purchasing the fort and other buildings. This condition he fulfilled: and while Lord Minto was at Malacca, on his way to Java, he received ambassadors from the state courting an alliance. His lordship was pleased to listen to their proposals, and an agreement, or treaty, was entered into, one of the articles was that we should never transfer the place to the Dutch. Our treaty was made with an independent prince, who was then acknowledged as such by the Dutch, and without reference to the conquest of Java. This place the Dutch commissioners claimed under the convention, and it was in vain we urged the impossibility of making

a transfer. They were, however, determined, and our Government, not thinking it a place worth contending for, and being further displeased with the local authority, and perhaps ignorant of the value of the position, withdrew, on which the Dutch sent a commanding force, took possession, and entered into nominal treaty with the chief, by which they secured to themselves the exclusive trade and control, and of course shut us out from further intercourse, the first and most important article in all their agreements with these states being the exclusion of the English."

"As our Government were content to abandon Benjer Masing, and the Dutch had already effected their purpose in that part of Borneo, it only remained for us to endeavour to maintain the independence of Pontiank and Sambas on the western coast, Rhio and Lingen at the southern entrance of the Straits of Malacca, and Palembang and Achin on Sumatra."

Raffles, fully acquainted of the intentions of the Dutch to seize all the salient points, wrote to Calcutta, requesting permission to proceed in person there, as soon as he knew of the return of Lord Hastings to the seat of government, that he might lay out his view in full of the situation and the dangers which threatened to drive the British from the whole of these Southern seas and islands. He recalled the history of the British connection with Palembang, and how we became possessed of the islands of Banka and Billiton in perpetuity. But these and other questions had to be settled, so Raffles went to Bengal to get his instructions, after he had had a chance of stating his own views.

Then follows what will ever be the classical record of the founding of Singapore, given by the founder himself:—

“I must give you some account of Singapore, our title to the place, its present condition and advantages, as well immediate as prospectively. The Dutch in occupying Rhio had considered the Sultan of Lingen as the legitimate sovereign of Johore. We found, however, that there was an elder brother, who by the laws and usages of the monarchy laid claims to this distinction, and that, in consequence of these disputed claims, neither of them had been regularly installed, and that consequently since the death of the father, which happened six years ago, there had been actually no regular constituted King of Johore.”

“The elder brother’s claim was admitted to be just, and the cause of his not being regularly crowned attributed to the intrigues of the Vizier or Raja Muda of Rhio, who had nearly usurped all authority, and who, of course, preferred a nominal superior to a real one. The empire of Johore was once the most extensive in this part of the world, even in its most limited extent: it included the southern part of the Peninsula, and all the islands which lay off it. The Bandahara of Pahang and the Tununggun of Johore are the principal officers and hereditary nobles, and the acknowledgment of these two is essential to the establishment of a new sovereign.”

“When I arrived off Singapore I received a visit from the Tununggun, who represented to me the recent conduct of the Dutch, and stated that, as the Dutch had treated with an incompetent

authority, it was still left to us to establish ourselves, in this division of the empire, under the sanction of the legitimate sovereign. This sovereign soon made his appearance, and, though not formally installed, was recognised by us in this capacity on his being acknowledged as sovereign by the Bandahara and the Tununggung.”

Thus Sir Stamford Raffles occupied the island of Singapore. He reported the same to Lord Hastings, by whom he was heartily supported. The whole matter was then forwarded to the home Government for consideration, on the detailed statement of Lord Hastings from Calcutta.

CHAPTER XII.

CRAWFURD AND SINGAPORE.

It is well here to give in full the account that Crawford wrote of the acquisition of Singapore.

“ For a period of about five centuries and a half there is no record of Singapore having been occupied, and it was only the occasional resort of pirates. In the year 1811 it was taken possession of by the party from whom we first received it, an officer of the Government of Johore, called the Tunungung. This person told me himself that he came there with about 150 followers a few months before the British expedition, which afterwards captured Java, passed the island. The history of the formation of the British settlement is as follows. After the restoration of the Dutch possessions in the Archipelago it was seen that no provision had been made for the freedom of British commerce, and various projects were suggested for the establishment of emporia within the seas of the Archipelago to obviate this inconvenience. One of these was submitted to the Marquis of Hastings by Sir Stamford Raffles, and adopted by him in 1818.”

“ This Sir Stamford Raffles proceeded to carry into effect, and with the courage and promptitude which belonged to his character. Many local obstacles, by nameless parties vested with a little brief authority, were thrown in his way, but he

overcame them all. The convenience of a port at the eastern end of the Straits of Malacca was too obvious to escape observation, and to this quarter Sir Stamford Raffles directed his attention: but in the first instance the island of Singapore did not occur either to himself (this is not, as we have already stated, the view of Lady Raffles) or to any one else."

"Yet it is remarkable that, in what was called a century and a half ago a 'New Account of the East Indies,' it is expressly pointed out in the following unmistakable words: 'In the year 1703,' says the author, Captain Hamilton, 'I called at Johore on my way to China, and he (the king) treated me very kindly, and made me a present of the island of Singapore, but I told him it could be of no use to a private person, though a proper place for a company to settle a colony on, lying in the centre of trade, and being accompanied with good rivers and safe harbours, so conveniently situated that all winds served shipping both to go out and come in these rivers.' But this striking recommendation of Singapore was at that time unknown to Sir Stamford and his contemporaries. He had hence to grope for a suitable locality. The first thought of was Rhio, but it was found to be already in the occupation of the Netherlands government."

"The next was the Karimon Islands, out, however, of the convenient track of navigation, and here Sir Stamford and his expedition tarried three days, but found the place unsuitable. The river of Johore was then thought of, but on the way to it the expedition touched at Singapore to make

enquiry, and then for the first time the advantages and superiority of its locality presented themselves. The cession of a small portion of the island, to the extent of two miles along the shore, and to the distance of the point-range of ordinary cannon inland, was obtained from the resident chief."

"This was afterwards confirmed by the Sultan of Johore, or the person whom we found it convenient to consider as such, who, on our invitation, quickly repaired to the place. The inconveniences of a state of things, which, with the exception of the patch on which the town was to stand, left the sovereignty of the whole island, with its adjacent islets to the Malay princes, were quickly experienced, and obviated by a treaty which I drew up in 1824 under the direction of the Earl of Amherst, then Governor-General, and this convention continues to be the tenure on which we hold the main island, with the islets and seas surrounding it."

Mr. Crawford did good research and literary (as well as much administrative) work, but he held radically different views to those which Raffles entertained and put into practice. In brief, the one seems to have been guided by expediency, while the other sought always to be actuated by high principle. The result was that the line of policy immediately followed by Mr. Crawford, once he got the chance, was a complete reversion of that of Sir Stamford, and for one hundred years Singapore and the Colony and British Malaya generally have had to suffer, and to-day the moral sense of the nation at home, and the demand of the Chinese, who have been and are the chief sufferers, cry for

a cessation of the evils which have been allowed to exist in connection with opium and gambling. Raffles set himself to get rid of opium and gambling, equally with piracy and slavery. Crawford carried out instructions as to these two latter evils but deliberately perpetuated the former two, largely from a fiscal policy, caring more for revenue than the souls of men.

To fortify his contention he quotes Dr. Oxley, who maintained that a man might use opium in moderation. But with more evident approval he quotes the high authority of my friend Sir Benjamin Brodie, who said the effect of opium, when taken into the stomach is not to stimulate but to soothe the nervous system. It may be otherwise in some instances, but these are rare exceptions to the general rule. The opium-eater is in a passive state satisfied with his own dreamy condition while under the influence of the drug. He is useless, but not mischievous. It is otherwise with alcoholic liquors.

Primed with "distinguished authorities," and keen to avail himself of the advantages of making money readily for the settlement from this vice, Crawford writes, in vindication of his action in fostering the opium habit in Singapore—"It is not the use, then, but the abuse of opium which is prejudicial to health: but in this respect it does not materially differ from wine, distilled spirits, malt liquor or hemp juice. There is nothing mysterious about the intoxication produced by ordinary stimulants, because we are familiar with it: but it is otherwise with that resulting from opium to which we are strangers. We have generally only

our imagination to guide us with the last, and we associate it with deeds of desperation and murder ; but the disposition to commit which, were the drug ever had recourse to on such occasions, which it never is, it would surely allay and not stimulate.” A very Daniel come to judgment !

Everybody now knows what opium is and what are its effects. The Chinese, following the example of the Japanese, are bent on getting rid of it, from patriotic, social, and moral grounds. Medical science has pronounced its opinion ; missionaries and all who know the Chinese at first hand, learn their language and have daily intercourse with them, know what opium is, and no official views, and no amount of fiscal income from this curse will blind honest men to plain, indubitable facts. As much may be said as to gambling. It is, as I write, on its last legs in Johore, with what ruinous results in Singapore is a matter of public notoriety. Had Crawford continued as Raffles began, these evils would have largely ceased long ago, and like other vices and crimes, would have been hidden away, to be dealt with as such with the moral support of the community. Until men are changed, vice will exist ; that the simplest schoolboy knows, but the State should legislate for the suppression of vice and crime, and not to virtually encourage it by so-called policies of control. To attempt it is wrong, specially where there are great opportunities of making gain out of the weaknesses of the people that the State exists to protect ; and just as much the State requires the best out of the populations within its bounds for the common good.

CHAPTER XIII.

PROGRESS IN SINGAPORE.

COLONEL FARQUHAR on the 31st of March, 1820, wrote from Singapore, where he had been placed in charge, to his chief, Sir Stamford Raffles.

“As a vessel sails from hence this morning, bound for Batavia, touching at Rhio, I avail myself of the opportunity of sending a few lines to Mr. Skelton at Batavia to be forwarded on to Bencoolen by any opportunity that may offer. We have been nearly seven weeks without any news from Calcutta. Your letters of the 3rd of January are the latest that are to hand. I have written you frequently by way of Java, Penang, and by Palembang.”

“Nothing can possibly exceed the rising trade and general prosperity of this infant colony: indeed, to look at our harbour just now, where upwards of twenty junks, three of which are from China, two from Cochin China, and the rest from Siam and other quarters, are at anchor, besides ships, brigs, prows, etc., a person would naturally exclaim—‘Surely this cannot be an establishment of only twelve months’ standing’!”

There were signs of forward progress in every direction. Merchants, Chinese and others collecting and trading, and no word of complaint by any. Swampy ground was being built upon and covered by Chinese houses on what is now the principal

business side of the river, and the Buggis village was growing into quite a town at the Kallang end of Singapore. Settlements were forming up all the rivers, and even so early, roads opened up communications into various parts of the country.

“ A trade direct with Japan will, I have no doubt, be opened very soon, and the advantages that are likely to result from such a commerce you are well aware of: in short, this settlement bids fair to become the emporium of Eastern trade, and in time may surpass even Batavia itself.”

Raffles' letters of this period are naturally full of Singapore: “ Bencoolen, April 3, 1820. Singapore, I am happy to say, continues to thrive beyond all calculation, notwithstanding . . . and the uncertainty of possession. The exports and imports even by native boats alone exceed four millions of dollars in the year. I enclose an extraet from a letter from Mr. Grant (one of the Directors of the E.I. Company). His favourable opinion of what I have done is very satisfactory.”

Mr. Charles Grant wrote to assure him that he was paying strict attention to the letters and papers which Raffles had so abundantly supplied him with. “ I have done all that I believe you expected from me, that is, to uphold your views of what our national policy ought to be with respect to the Eastern Archipelago, the leading principles of which I entertained before your return to India, as favouring not only the fair commercial interest of our country, and of a vast region of Asia, but the moral and political benefit of its immense population. You are probably aware of the obstacles which have been opposed to the adop-

tion of your measures, and even threatened your position in the service. Your zeal considerably outstepped your prudence, and the first operations of it became known at an unfavourable juncture. It was thought that the state of affairs in Europe required that they should be discontinued."

"The acquisition of Singapore has grown in importance. The stir made here lately for the enlargement of the eastern trade fortified that impression. It is now accredited in the India House. Of late, in an examination before a committee of the House of Lords, I gave my opinion of the value, in a moral, political, and commercial view, of a British establishment in the locality of Singapore, under the auspices of the Company. From all these circumstances and others, I argue well as to the retention and encouragement of the station your rapidity has occupied. I have noted your efforts for introducing religious improvement into Bencoolen. I hope that disposition will follow you wherever you go."

Again we find Raffles writing:—"I hear the Dutch place all their hopes on being able to remove me from the Eastward. I have become so much identified with the question now pending between the two Governments that they conceive their interests will be best served by getting me out of the way."

He also writes to Mr. Marsden:—"As you may not possess a correct vocabulary of the Nias language, I send you a few words. I am at present directing my attention a good deal to that island." All this goes to prove, were such necessary, his unfailing diligence in doing something worth while at

all times, and his great and ready willingness to help others who were engaged in similar congenial pursuits for the common good.

To the Rev. Dr. Raffles once more he writes—after telling of the arrival of the two missionaries, Burton and Evans—“Mr. Evans and his wife remain in Bencoolen to open a school. Mr. Burton proposes fixing himself in the north of Sumatra for the conversion of the Battaks and the people of Pulau Nias. Of the progress at Bencoolen I can speak with more confidence than when I last wrote you. The native school has fully answered my expectations. I am now extending the plan so as to include a school of industry. The arrival of the missionaries is most fortunate, and I hope they will, in time, complete what they have so successfully begun—the progress, however, must necessarily be slow.”

“My settlement (Singapore) continues to thrive wonderfully: it is all and everything that I could wish. I learn with much regret the prejudice and malignity by which I am attacked at home, for the desperate struggle I have maintained against the Dutch. Instead of being supported by my own Government, I find them deserting me, and giving way in every instance to the unscrupulous and enormous assertions of the Dutch. All, however, is safe so far, and if matters are only allowed to remain as they are, all will go well. The great blow has been struck, and, though I may suffer personally in the scuffle, the nation must be benefited.”

“Were the value of Singapore properly appreciated, I am confident that all England would

be in its favour : it positively takes nothing from the Dutch, and is everything to us. God knows the Dutch treat me unjustly : for although I have disputed and opposed their enormous designs in the Archipelago generally, I have never interfered with Java, or any of their lawful possessions ; but their fears magnify the danger."

He points out, at considerable length, to Mr. T. Murdoch, under date of July 22, 1820, what he was doing for the improvement of Sumatra, where he had found things neglected for a long time, largely due to being so far away from Bengal. He then comes, to what was ever uppermost in his thoughts. " We are anxiously awaiting the decision of the higher powers on the numerous questions referred to them. It appears impossible to me that Singapore should be given up, and yet the indecisive manner in which the ministers express themselves, and the unjust and harsh terms they use towards me render it doubtful what course they will adopt. If they do not appoint me to Penang, it is probable that they will confine me to Bencoolen as a place of punishment—banishment it certainly is : but if even here they will leave me alone, I can make a paradise for myself."

CHAPTER XIV.

PERSONAL SORROWS.

DURING 1821 Sir Stamford and Lady Raffles had some very sad experiences in the death of friends, and some of their own children. He mourns the loss of Sir Joseph Banks, the learned President of the Royal Society. He was longing to be relieved that he might get a trip home, as both his own and the health of Lady Raffles needed a change, and their children were growing to an age that it was imperative that they should be taken from the enervating climate of the tropics, and left at home for their schooling and training under rightful care. In July another baby girl came to the happy family circle.

Shortly afterwards came the sad blow of the death of the eldest boy, the child most dear to the father's heart, after only a few hours' illness. From that time, until his return to England, sickness and death prevailed throughout the settlement, and in his own family. Lady Raffles, in after years, reflecting on these calamities, said :—" God's Holy Spirit enabled him to receive these afflictions with meekness, and to feel that they were trials of faith and not judgments of anger."

In his great sorrow he was able to write to comfort another with the comfort with which he himself was comforted. " I little thought a week ago, when overwhelmed with grief by the loss of our

dear and eldest boy, Leopold, that I should so soon have been called upon to report upon another, and to you, my dear friend, a still more severe loss. A vessel leaves this port immediately, and bad news flies fast. Cruel as must be the stroke, and ill qualified as I am at present to break it to you with the tenderness and caution I could wish, I must perform my duty: I must break your heart by telling you that our dear friend and brother Harry is no more."

With that touch of nature, that makes the whole world kin, Lady Raffles speaks of her great prostration with grief for the loss of their favourite child. Unable to bear the sight of her other children, unable to bear the light of day, she was addressed by a poor, ignorant, uninstructed, native woman, who had been employed about the nursery:—"I am come because you have been here many days shut up in a dark room, and no one dares to come near you. Are you not ashamed to grieve in this manner, when you ought to be thanking God for having given you the most beautiful child that ever was seen? Were you not the envy of everybody? Did any one ever see him, or speak of him, without admiring him? And instead of letting this child continue in this world till he should be worn out with trouble and sorrow, has not God taken him to heaven in all his beauty? What would you have more? For shame! Leave off weeping, and let me open the window."

By November 9th, 1821, Sir Stamford was able to write to Mr. Marsden that he was planning to leave Bencoolen the following year for Singapore, with the intention of remaining there till he heard

of the arrangements at home. He adds :—" I have no idea of its being given up to the Dutch, but I fear its being put under Penang. Should everything go favourably, which is hardly to be expected, I should wish to remain at Singapore till the early part of 1824. My last letter will have informed you that our attention is now devoted to geographical and geological information. Our little family are, upon the whole, well. Charlotte is everything that mamma could wish, and Marsden, now, alas ! my only son, is advancing rapidly. He has not the beauty and loveliness of poor Leopold, but he is a fine boy, and remarkably quiet and intelligent. Our last, Ella, is a great beauty. Our missionaries are engaged in printing a new version of the Gospel of John. Mr. Robinson is a Baptist missionary, who settled under my administration in Java, and has sought my protection here : he has been a close student of Malay literature and language for the last seven years, and has long been in the habit of preaching to the natives."

On the same day he wrote to a lady friend to whom he unburdened his sorely stricken heart :—" My heart has been nigh broken, and my spirit is gone : I have lost all that I prided myself upon in this world, and the affliction came upon us at a moment when we least expected such a calamity. I had vainly formed such notions of future happiness when he should have become a man, and be all that his father wished him, that I find nothing left but what is stale, flat, and unprofitable. My remaining children are, thank God, rather superior to the ordinary run, and Charlotte is everything we could wish her. How is it that I feel less interest

in them than in the one that is gone? Perhaps it is our nature. You will be sorry to hear that Lady Raffles and myself have been seriously ill, and that I am still so far complaining that I hardly know whether I shall live or die. At one time, I am sorry to say, I cared but little which way my fate turned, but I now begin to think of the necessity of exertion for those about me, and sometimes venture to look forward."

Sir Stamford continued to have most severe trials. He and his wife had to face more sickness among their children: Charlotte was down with dysentery, and the younger children had been very ill, and both parents were worn out with anxiety and nursing. This was in December, but even all this did not prevent his mind dwelling on his beloved Singapore.

"I have said and done all that was possible in the political department. My attention will occasionally be directed to the agricultural interests at Bencoolen, but as soon as I proceed to Singapore, commercial plans will occupy all my time. I shall probably point out great advantages, such as the introduction into China of manufactured cottons, in lieu of twenty thousand tons of raw material for Europe. The supersession in the China market of the iron and crockery ware, now so extensively in demand from China throughout the whole Archipelago: the extensive circulation of a British copper coinage throughout the Archipelago. I hope to prove to the Company, and my country, that in my views and expectations regarding Singapore, I have not been visionary."

Sorrow upon sorrow visited Raffles and his wife.

Within six weeks their three eldest children were laid in their graves. Utterly broken he took steps towards going home by sending in his resignation. "We have still one child left, Ella, thank God she is apparently well. Severe as the dispensation is we are resigned to it : we have still reason to thank God. I propose visiting Singapore about September next to return here the following May. By January 1st, 1824, God willing, we hope to be on our way home." About a month later, he struggled to write after being ill with a severe fever, confined in a dark room, and unable to see anyone, save those of his family. "Our little darling (Ella) is under the immediate care of Nurse Grimes. She leaves us in excellent health, and we indulge the hope that by the strong measures we have taken, of sending her to a healthier climate, we may be spared this one comfort to solace and enliven our declining days. Sophia's (Lady Raffles') health, though it has suffered severely, is, I thank God, improving, and if it be the will of God that we continue as well as we are, we hope to be able to stand out another year or two with tolerable comfort.

To Mr. Marsden he writes saying that his only child had been sent to London. He tells of his plans and the situation in Singapore and the lands adjoining.

To the Rev. Dr. Raffles—"We now pass our time in great retirement. I have a dozen ploughs constantly going, and before I quit the estate (on which he had built his country house) I hope it will realize a revenue of two or three thousand a year, besides feeding the population. It is an experiment but it will encourage others : and as it is a pro-

perty which belongs to the Company, no one can accuse me of interested views in the efforts which I am making. It is possible that in England I may look with interest to the returns in money which my oats and barley may afford, but here I am quite satisfied with seeing and collecting the produce of my industry and exertions. I am cultivating and improving for the mere love of the thing, and the desire of employing my time advantageously for others." He was also busy with sugar and mills. He claims no great credit, but says he took the models from books.

The kind of man he was is frankly revealed in his letters. Ever brave, resourceful, stayed in confidence of his own integrity in the justice of God, with the assurance that his life had not been in vain, but would be of benefit to others, both in his lifetime and when he was gone. Here is one of them :—" I am sure it will be satisfactory to you to know that both Sophia and myself have become ourselves again : not that we can forget our past and heavy afflictions, or cease to mourn over them : but we can now and again enjoy the present hour, and look forward with steadiness and satisfaction. I am not one of that ' Satanic ' school, who looked on this world as the hell of some former and past creation, but am content to take it as I find it, firmly believing, from all I have known and seen, that whatever is, is for our good and happiness, and that there is more of both, even in this world, than in conscience we can think we have deserved. We have had a sickly season, and among our casualties are our chaplain and doctor : deaths are occurring daily in our small circle : but notwithstanding this,

we still look up: therefore, with the blessing of God, do not despair of seeing us in 1824."

"I have long looked for the appointment of Mr. Canning as Governor-General: and I augur well of his government, not from personal views of myself, but with respect to public interests. My life has hitherto been a public one: and long habit, if nothing else, has made the public weal as interesting to me as my personal prospects ever can be. Without attending to it I should lose half the interest of my life, so you must not be surprised if I still hold on the same course, even though I may not be able to prove that my interests are advanced by it. To these I never looked primarily, and God grant I never shall. I believe, paradoxical as it may seem to say so, I should lose my identity were I to cease to love the other things better than myself. It may be a wrong turn of my mind, but such is the twist of it, and matured as it now is by forty years' growth, I must change myself ere I think or act otherwise."

"Do not, however, do me the injustice to suppose that I am overweeningly attached to the things of this world—am in love with ambition, or suppose I can reform the world by my endeavours. I think I know myself better. I would rather be a simple unit with the united few, who act rightly and on principle, than a blazing cipher acting for myself and my own nothingness. But a truce to this. I hope to be at Singapore by the time Canning arrives, so that he will find me at my post of danger, and I hope of honour, too."

"As for Crawford, what you say, to a certain extent, had now and then presented itself

transiently to my mind in the same light : but you mistake me if you suppose I entertain any unpleasant feeling on that account : whatever his faults, he is devoting his mind exclusively to the objects in which my heart and soul are deeply interested. Let Crawford have his swing, and the more extended the better : in the present time we, perhaps, require such bold and fearless men. The cloud of ignorance which still hangs over England with regard to the Eastern Islands cannot be dissipated by ordinary means, or by dint of reason : it requires the agency of some of those powerful elements which, while they disperse, cannot avoid destroying. Where we differ we shall explain, and longer and cooler heads may light their matches from the sparks which we strike out. Two at a trade, they say, can never agree : Crawford and I are, perhaps, running too much on the same parallel not now and then to be jostling each other : but, if in following my steps, he profits by my errors and experience, it will be a satisfaction to me."

"I observe what you say about the nation. I agree with you, as far as we can perceive from this distance, that things look better. Manufactures and commerce are certainly improving, and agriculture will come about in due time. It is very amusing to hear complaints of the ruin of the country in consequence of its too great riches and abundance. For those that suffer, and they are many, I feel most sincerely : most deeply do I commiserate the wretchedness which must necessarily be felt by certain classes : and all must be content to retrograde from the high pitch of ease

and luxury, which were created by an over, but, perhaps, necessary excitement : yet, I never can bring my mind to suppose our case to be desperate, while we not only have more people, but more food and more money than we know what to do with. Were I to land, for the first time, on some large and highly populous island, and to observe a similar state of things, what would be my impression ?”

“ Not that it was ruined, but a badly governed country. Ours, perhaps, is so circumstanced : although among the many quacks and pretenders, to heal the diseases of the state, I have found but few whose panacea were worth the trial. Upon the whole, maybe, we cannot go on much better than we are doing : our circumstances have changed, and greatly changed, and the great object is to assist the wheel as it turns round, and render the change as gradual and imperceptible as possible. Most certainly do I think we are not changed for the worse. Scarcity and high price never can be better than cheapness and abundance : for a time it may serve to gorge the appetites of the few, but in the long run, and for the nation at large, it can never last, but must inevitably end in ruin. Industry and plain living suit better with good morals, sound understanding, and, consequently, with the happiness of this life, and the prospects of the future, than luxury and idleness, though they were to be bought without the sacrifices of the many to the few. I look highly on the resources of the country, I consider them inexhaustible, and that the days of our true greatness are now approaching. So much for politics.”

Then follows a delightful insight into Raffles—the great and good man, who all unite, old foe and new friend, to honour and admire for the strength of his principles, and the boldness of his goodness, which led him to practise as in his inmost soul he was. He believed it was the business of the true man to be good rather than to try and make others good, but to do all that he possibly could to benefit them for their sole advantage, calmly leaving the results with the Almighty.

He quaintly continues:—"I must not omit to tell you a curious fact: the Java Government were distressed for money, and proposed to raise a loan of thirty lacs in Bengal, at from seven to nine per cent., payable in five years. The terms were communicated to me, and the loan opened: but there was a feverish anxiety in Calcutta as to the security of the Dutch, notwithstanding their power and means in the East were never less equivocal: and the Dutch themselves thought better of it, and the loan was closed, when, lo and behold, the only subscription to the loan, actually realised, was from me! This has caused a reference to Batavia from Bengal; and it is odd enough, after all the battlings, that I should be found to be the only man in India who would hear their distress, and trust them with a penny. This is, at least, an amusing anecdote for the entertainment of his Netherlands' Majesty, when he may honour me with another invitation to his palace at Lacken."

"Your letter respecting young M'Lean I purposely put aside to answer, after turning the matter in my thoughts: it is a serious matter to direct the destination of a young man, and, as I never like to

drop those whom I once take up, I am anxious to see that all is right in the beginning. So much depends upon the start that we cannot be too cautious."

It is simply splendid to observe how Raffles de-means himself, in the face of the treatment which was measured out to him.

"I am placed here, as it has been my lot ever since I have been entrusted with a government, to administer the public affairs according to the best of my ability. I lose no time in informing my superior of my situation, and the circumstances of the country and their interests. I implore advice, and ask authority, I receive none: scarce an acknowledgment, and when I do, that only proves they never have read what I have written. Year after year rolls on: the public weal must be attended to, and time and tide stand still for no man. How is it possible that a man, having the honour of his country at heart, and any conscience whatever, can remain a silent spectator of what is daily getting worse and worse? Either he must step in to stop the ruin, or he must eat the bread of idleness, and pocket the wages of iniquity, for they cannot be honestly earned without the performance of corresponding duties, to say nothing of the happiness or misery of the thousands and tens of thousands committed to his charge, and whose destiny must, in a great measure, be considered in his hands."

"My hand aches, and I must leave off with an apology for writing you so long a letter: but, in truth, I have not had time to write a short, and, therefore, give you in haste what comes."

Here are a few more sidelights on a transparent character:—"You say our new Deputy Master Attendant is a protégé of Mr. Robinson, and on that account entitled to my attention. I am not aware that, as yet, I am under any obligation to Mr. Robinson, for, if report says true, he is most hostile to me, but for what I know not. Be it as it may, I would rather return good for evil: and, in the hope that he may one day lay aside his prejudices, and be open to reason and conviction, you may assure him that I only regret I am not better known to him. Times may alter as they have once altered, and, really, I cannot account for much that I see and hear: nevertheless, I shall continue to pursue a straightforward course, as I have hitherto done, without swerving to the right or left, quarrelling with no one."

Referring to the case of young M'Lean he says—"With industry and perseverance, a good constitution and frugal habits, there wants but one thing more to complete the requisites, and that is capital, or credit, which is the same thing. Commercial speculations are, in a great measure, at a stand, and Singapore is overstocked with merchants. They are too keen for a novice, and in these times it is quite a science, even for the first houses, to know how to make money: the most that they can do is to prevent loss. In Java there are great facilities and advantages, both in trade and cultivation, particularly the latter, but then it is under Dutch government. Of the extent of capital required, anything from one to five thousand pounds will answer, the more the better. With two to three thousands to sink in Bencoolen,

I really think a pretty fortune might be made in ten years, paying baek the first capital with a high interest in three or four years. One thing, however, must not on any aecount be expected either here or in Singapore—there are no appointments to be had—not more than you can pick up in the streets of London: everything must depend upon the party himself, and on his own frugality and exertions.”

On the eve of embarking for Singapore in September, 1823, he wrote briefly to Mr. Marsden, telling of the ill-health of Lady Raffles, and of a severe nervous affection of his head, so that he could not count on an hour's health. He sends on the results of the surveys of a Captain Crisp, and other matters.

On the voyage he was able to pull himself together somewhat to be able to write expressing the hope that the ship to take them home would have a poop, as he felt sure that his wife could not endure the voyage below hatches, she being such a bad sailor. Indeed, both were so weak and unfit for a long voyage that he contemplated making a port-to-port voyage, and stopping by the way for a week or a fortnight to reeruit.

To his cousin he unfolds his plan of work for Singapore. This was to remain there for six months, with a view of arranging and modelling something like a constitution for the place, and transferring its future management to a successor.

“Should God spare our lives, we then look to return to Bencoolen for the purpose of winding up: then, about the end of the year, if it is not too presumptuous to look forward so far after what has

passed, we contemplate the prospect of revisiting England. At all events no views of ambition will weigh with us beyond that period : and considering the precarious state of our health, and the many ties at home, it seems, in the natural course of things, that we should take this step."

CHAPTER XV.

SINGAPORE AGAIN.

SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES was delighted to report himself once more in Singapore. On October 11, 1822. “ We landed yesterday, and I have established my headquarters in the centre of my Malayan friends. You will be glad to know I feel sufficient health and strength to do as I wish. The coldest and most disinterested could not quit Bencoolen and land in Singapore, without surprise and emotion. What, then, must have been my feelings, after the loss of almost everything that was dear to me on that ill-fated coast? I did feel when I left Bencoolen that the time had passed when I could take much interest in Indian affairs, and I wished myself safe at home : but I already feel differently : I feel a new life and vigour about me, and, if it please God to grant me health, the next six months will, I hope, make some amends for the gloom of the last sixteen. Rob me not of this my political child (Singapore) and you may yet see me home in all my wonted spirits, and with an elasticity about me which will bear me up against all that party spirit can do to depress me. . . . In our hearts we sing ‘ Oh, be joyful in the Lord.’ ”

To the Duchess he again writes—“ Singapore there must be the utmost possible freedom of trade and equal rights to all, with perfect protection of property and person. I shall

spare no pains to establish such laws and regulations as may be most conducive to obtain these objects. In Java I had to remodel, and in doing so to remove the rubbish and incumbrances of two centuries of Dutch mal-administration : here I have an easier task, and the task is new. In Java I had to look principally to the agricultural interests, and the commercial only so far as they were connected with them : here, on the contrary, commerce is everything, agriculture only in its infancy. The people are different as well as their pursuits. I assure you I stand much in need of advice, and were it not for Lady Raffles I should have no counsellor at all. She is nevertheless a host to me, and if I do live to see you again, it will be entirely owing to her love and affection : without these I should have been cast away long ago."

"The only amusing discovery which we have recently made is that of a sailing fish, called by the natives 'ikan layer,' of about ten or twelve feet long, which hoists a mainsail, and often sails in the manner of a native boat, and with considerable swiftness. I have sent a set of sails home, as they are beautifully cut, and form a model for a fast sailing boat—they are composed of the dorsal fins of the animal, and, when a shoal of these are under sail together, they are frequently mistaken for a fleet of native boats."

To Mr. Marsden and other friends he continued to send letters of unfading interest, because of the light they throw on these far-off times of the early days of his colony, for surely Singapore and Raffles must stand associated for ever.

"Of Singapore I could say much, but when I

say that it is going on prosperously as possible, you will infer what I would communicate. I am steadily going on in the establishment of something like a constitution for the place, on the principle of making a free port in every sense of the word. The active spirit of enterprise which prevails is truly astonishing, and for its extent, I believe I may safely say, that no part of the world exhibits a busier scene than the town and environs of Singapore."

"You must be aware that the grounds on which I maintain our right to Singapore rested on the following facts, which it has never been in their (the Dutch) power to disprove. 1st.—That subsequent to the death of Sultan Mohammed, which happened twelve years ago, there had been no regular installation of a successor, nor had any chief been acknowledged as such, with the essential forms required by Malay custom. 2nd.—That the regalia, the possession of which is essential to sovereignty, still remains in the custody of Tunku Putrie, widow of the deceased Sultan. 3rd.—That the Raja of Lingen had never exercised the authority of the Sultan of Johore, and explicitly disclaimed the title, and 4th, that the prince whom we supported was the eldest son of the late Sultan, and was intended for the succession. That he was acknowledged by one, at least, if not both the constituted authorities of the empire, and that he himself stood in no way committed to the Dutch, when I formed the treaty with him."

"The Dutch have allowed nearly four years to pass, since our occupation of Singapore, in trying to prove that the Sultan of Lingen was actually in-

vested with the sovereignty of Johore : but, finding our ministry more firm than they expected, and that their assertions were not admitted as proofs, they have at last given up the point, and actually proceeded to the seizure of the regalia from the hands of Tunku Putrie. I enclose you the particulars : it is a curious document and deserves preservation as connected with the history of this part of the world."

Raffles then speaks of the diplomatic visits of Mr. Crawford to Siam and Cochin China, and remarks :—" It does not seem that there is any foreign European influence, at either court, prejudicial to our political or national interest : Crawford seems to think they are both too jealous to admit of any. Siam proves to be fully as rich a country as we supposed. Its population is estimated at six millions, of which one-sixth may be Chinese, and nearly one half the whole are included at the districts of Lao, the other half occupying Lower Siam. The value of the junk trade is so important, to the king and all concerned in it, that they naturally are averse to the admission of our shipping to its supersession, and perhaps destruction : this circumstance, added to the despotic nature of the government, its jealousy and general bad character, seems to preclude the hope of our enjoying a direct trade, to any extent, by means of our own shipping. We must be satisfied with the entrepôt which we have established at Singapore, whither their junks regularly come with a large proportion of the produce of the country, and can afford to sell it at a lower rate than foreigners can get the same articles in Siam itself : and under the

protection of the British flag the exchange must take place. In the extension of this trade the King and his court are so much interested that he will in a manner feel dependent on us for the accommodation and protection afforded. On his way to Cochin China, Crawford touched at Saigon. This place he describes as full of activity and produce, and abounding with Chinese, who seemed anxious for a more general intercourse with us. Cochin China is a poor country comparatively with Siam : but the principal value of our connection with it seems to be with reference to the channel which it may give for a more extensive intercourse with several of the provinces of China.”

To Mr. T. Murdoch, Sir Stamford wrote from Singapore, on December 4, 1822 :—“ I am afraid you will accuse me of neglect in not writing for so long a period, but I must tell the truth, and rely on your kindness. I have not been able to bring myself to the point since the loss of my dear boy, Leopold, and even now feel a reluctance in doing so, which I can hardly overcome. The loss of that dear boy, in whom our hopes were centred, had indeed been a severe blow : and the rapid succession in which our other darlings have been swept from us has been almost too much to bear. But I thank God the worst is past : and, though we may have hardened our hearts a little in order to get over it, I will yet hope that there is such happiness left for us in this world as we deserve to enjoy. We were, perhaps, too happy, too proud of our blessings : and, if we had not received this severe check, we might not sufficiently have felt and known the necessity of a hereafter. The Lord’s

will be done, and we are satisfied. You will, I am sure, congratulate us on our removal from Bencoolen. Only two days before we left we lost another member of our family, my inestimable friend, Dr. Jack (Lady Raffles' brother). This blow was reserved till the last, but it has been none the less severe. Poor fellow, we have lost in him one of the clearest heads I ever met with : but death has so assailed us, in every quarter within the last year, that I hardly yet know or feel all that I have lost."

"Public report speaks so favourably of this place that I cannot say more about it, without subjecting myself to the charge of egoism, for it is, indeed, everything I could wish, and is rising and improving in every way, fully equal to my expectations. It is at least a child of my own : and, now that I am in other respects childless, I may perhaps be indulged with this. I can assure you that the interest, that I may take in it, cheers many a day that would otherwise be gloomy, and sad enough in reflections on the past."

"I am now busy in allotting the lands and laying out the several towns, defining rights, and establishing powers and rules for their protection and preservation. I have been a great deal impeded, but the task, though an arduous and serious one, is not one that I find unpleasant. What I feel most is want of good counsel and advice, and a sufficient confidence in my own experience and judgment to lay down so broad and permanent a foundation as I could wish. I have already upwards of 10,000 souls to legislate for, and this number will, I doubt not, be increased during the

next year. The enterprise and activity which prevails are wonderful, and the effects of free trade and liberal principles have operated like magic. But, that the past prosperity of the place may not prove ephemeral, it requires that I be the more careful in what I do, for the future : for if the past, under all our uncertainty of possession, has so exceeded my expectations, what may not be calculated upon hereafter, when our possession is considered secure, and when British capital and enterprise came into full and fair play ?”

He tells of the failure of Crawford’s mission to Siam and Cochin China, though the visit had been productive by learning the character of the governments of these places. From a political point of view they were a most impracticable people, so that Raffles thought it folly to attempt any further political negotiations with them. He hoped that the powers at home would see in this an additional reason for the retention of Singapore to be in trade touch with these countries.

To another friend, about the same time, he says that he will be surprised to hear of the value of land in Singapore. A few spots of ground hitherto considered of no value, and passed over by the local resident, sold in the course of an hour for upwards of \$50,000. He mentions that the capital turned over at Bencoolen never exceeded \$400,000 in a year, and nearly the whole of this in Company’s bills on Bengal, the only return that was made : the capital turned over at Singapore, in less than four years of its inception exceeded eight millions a year, without any government bills or civil establishments whatever.

To Mr. Marsden he had the great gratification of reporting the rapid extension of the trade of his beloved colony. "Singapore, January 21, 1823.—By the statement I forwarded to the Court of Directors in February last, it was shown that, during the first two years and a half of this establishment, no less than two thousand eight hundred and eighty-three vessels entered and cleared from the port, of which three hundred and eighty-three were owned and commanded by Europeans, and two thousand and five hundred and six by natives, and that their united tonnage was one hundred and sixty-one thousand tons. It appears also that the merchandise in native vessels arrived and cleared amounted to about five millions of dollars during the same period, and in ships not less than three millions, giving a total of about eight millions."

No wonder Raffles was a proud and happy man, in spite of all his great and many difficulties, his personal sorrows and heavy losses. His life was a full and real achievement.

CHAPTER XVI.

SINGAPORE FOUNDATION OF EDUCATION FOR THE WHOLE OF THE MIDDLE AND FAR EAST.

SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES, on January 12, 1823, wrote to his cousin Dr. Raffles:—"The death of my friend, Dr. Milne of Malacca, has for a time thrown a damp on missionary exertions in this quarter, but I expect Dr. Morrison, of China, to visit this place (Singapore) in March, and I hope to make satisfactory arrangements with him for future labours. The two missionaries here have not been idle. Messrs. Milton and Thomson, the former in Chinese and Siamese, and the latter in Malay and English printing. I have selected a spot for my intended college: all I require now is a good headmaster or superintendent. It is my intention to endow it with lands, the rents of which will cover its ordinary expenses. I am about to commence upon a church, the plan of which is already approved."

Here should be given the text of the tribute to the work and the worth of Milne from the tablet in Christ Church, Malacca:—

Sacred to the Memory of the

REV. WILLIAM MILNE, D.D.,

PROTESTANT MISSIONARY TO CHINA, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY. FOR SEVEN YEARS, HE RESIDED AT THIS SETTLEMENT AS PRINCIPAL OF THE ANGLO-CHINESE COLLEGE, SUPERINTENDING THE EDUCATION OF CHINESE AND MALAY YOUTHS, COMPOSING USEFUL AND RELIGIOUS TRACTS IN THEIR RESPECTIVE LANGUAGES, AND OFFICIATING IN THIS CHURCH AS A FAITHFUL MINISTER OF CHRIST. THE CHIEF OBJECTS OF HIS LABOURS, IN CO-OPERATION WITH THE REV. ROBERT MORRISON, D.D., WAS THE TRANSLATION OF THE EARLIEST PROTESTANT VERSION OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES IN CHINESE, IN WHICH HE RENDERED MOST VALUABLE AND EFFICIENT SERVICE.

HE WAS BORN IN THE YEAR 1785, IN KENNETHMONT, ABERDEENSHIRE. LEFT ENGLAND AS A MISSIONARY IN 1812, AND DIED IN MALACCA, JUNE 2, 1822, AT THE AGE OF THIRTY-SEVEN."

Morrison visited Malacca in 1823, and on his way there, on January 29, he landed at Singapore, and was most cordially received by Sir Stamford. Their views coincided on many subjects, and both were equally solicitous to better the moral and social condition of the peoples.

The widow of Morrison wrote, in after years:—"Had Sir S. Raffles' liberal and benevolent measures met the support which they merited, his administration would doubtless have been rendered a blessing to those colonies over which his authority extended."

Together Raffles and Morrison planned the

“ SINGAPORE INSTITUTION,” by which name alone it was known in Raffles’ lifetime. It was founded on the first of April, 1823, and on that day Dr. Morrison made a notable speech in which he said:—“ The state of our British ancestors, eighteen hundred years ago, compared with their present state, is frequently brought forward (and, I think, conclusively) to disprove the allegation that all attempts to improve the intellectual and moral condition of man are visionary, and must end in disappointment. Some men will not plant a tree because it cannot attain its proper size in their lifetime: but the tree of knowledge which we would plant is not for our individual use, it is for the healing of the nations around us. Knowledge is not virtue, but it is power, and should always be possessed by the virtuous to enable them to do good to others. Although knowledge may be abused, and employed for evil purposes, it is, generally speaking, a positive good to the possessor. I assume this of knowledge generally, whilst I maintain further that there are some parts of knowledge that are of infinite value—‘ It is life eternal to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ Whom He has sent.’ ”

“ This implies an eternity of unmixed happiness at an infinite distance from every ill. Science and philosophy cannot at present be said to flourish anywhere but in Christendom. . . . China I have taken as my province, and to it I purpose resolutely to adhere. I had an able coadjutor, who established for me the Anglo-Chinese College (Malacca). Would that he had been with us to-day ! But God’s will be done. Milne has finished

his labours, and has entered into his rest. The Malayan College (i.e., the Singapore Institution), to which we shall resign the Malayan division of the work, is a great acquisition, and I rejoice that China and the Archipelago are to be associated, having no other strife and rivalry but the very pardonable one of trying which can be the most useful. And as sowing and planting are ineffectual without alternate sunshine and shower, which man cannot command, but God alone can give, so, let us remember, intellectual and moral culture will be all unavailable without God's blessing, which may He be pleased to grant on all these our efforts, through the merits of our blessed Redeemer, Jesus Christ."

Before sailing for his first and only furlough to England, in 1824, Dr. Morrison forwarded to the treasurer of the Institution four thousand Spanish dollars. This was Mr. A. L. Johnstone, a Scottish merchant, who was the founder of the earliest British firm in Singapore. In all, as the accounts show, Dr. Morrison gave \$5,900 to this school, which to-day scarcely knows his name.

It was not till so late as 1867 that the name "Raffles Institution" was used, and appears for the first time in the Annual Report for 1868, for what reason it does not state.

On his return from England in 1826, and while staying in Singapore, Morrison wrote to the secretary of the trustees, Captain Davis, suggesting what might be for the welfare of the Institution. He also signed a petition to the Governor in Council (R. Fullerton, Esquire) requesting that the lands, donations and subscriptions given for

the Institution should be used, as was originally intended by the donors:—"Having for its object the cultivation of the languages of China, Siam and the Malayan Archipelago, and the improvement of the moral and intellectual condition of the inhabitants of these countries." He also points out that, from the very first formation of the Institution till that time, elementary schools for the instruction of the natives had been established under the patronage and control of the same.

Two years later, Raffles having died in 1826, Morrison wrote from Macao in November, 1828:—"My dear Sir,—I have your favour of September 26th, on the subject of the Singapore Institution. You refer me to Captain Flint and Mr. Maxwell, two of the original trustees who are coming to China. As to the plan you propose of investing the funds of the Institution and Monument to form a Town Hall and Reading Room, although a good object, it is so different from the 'education of the natives,' which Sir Stamford and the other contributors intended, I do not see how the trustees can alienate the property. Such being my view I cannot consent to the plan proposed. . . . I hope you and the other trustees, on the spot, will do what you can to secure the grounds originally granted, for they are real property, and may in the course of time increase in value and be devoted to the purpose of NATIVE EDUCATION."

"I would rather, even if it were a hundred years hence, have the land reserved for this purpose than for the sake of any other object consent to alienate it. It is a shame to the whole of

us that such a design should totally fall to the ground."

The hundred years are well nigh up. It is for the present Government and the various communities, not only of Singapore, but also of British Malaya, now to have realised what Raffles and his like-minded friends intended on the founding of this Mother of Institutions.

There is already a Medical College for Malaya. Let the other "faculties," by affiliated colleges, in due course, be added to what will be the University of all the Middle East. There will then spring up the necessary hostels, which, to be really effective for good, and to ensure the moral welfare of the students, will need to have the same wise care exercised over them, as in the "schools" themselves. To accomplish this, there should be International, or Interdenominational Hostels. These must be run on Christian principles, with full provision for the best expansion of young life, under sympathetic and wise guidance.

No view of the comparatively recent development of higher education in the Far East, notably in Japan and China, will be complete, without taking into account what Raffles and Morrison did for education in Malacca and Singapore a hundred years ago.

There are now twelve universities in China. One of these is Chinese, the Government University of Pei Yang at Tientsin. This is the principal engineering and technical college of China. The staff are Chinese, Americans, British and Germans. The English language is used. One is British, the University of Hong Kong. One is American, St.

John's University of Shanghai. This last owes its inception entirely to its Christian character. The nine others are all Missionary Institutions. These are the University of Nanking, which is a combine of Presbyterians, Methodists and Disciples of Christ, from the United States. Yale University at Changsha is maintained and staffed by the Missionary Society of Yale. The Shangtung Union University, to be removed from Wei to Tsinan, the capital, is a union of British Baptists, and latterly of Anglicans, together with American Baptists, Congregational and Methodist Churchmen. The Shansi University of Tai Yuan was established by the English Baptists, in 1901, out of the "Boxer" indemnity. Peking University is a union of American Congregationalists, Presbyterians and the British "London Mission," along with, for medical work, the British Methodists and Anglicans. Hangchow University is the outcome of American Presbyterian Churchmen. Soochow University is the work of Methodists from the U.S.A. At Wuchau the American Protestant Episcopal Church have Boone University, and here, too, Anglican Churchmen of Oxford and Cambridge are to establish a University. To close the list, for the present, South China has the Canton Christian College.

Canton College, in many respects, first opened the way for all the rest, and though American Presbyterian Churchmen, specially Dr. Happer and Dr. Kerr, brought the scheme to completion, the foundation of this work was laid by the first Canton missionary, Robert Morrison. To him belongs the high and signal honour of pointing the

path out for those that were to come after, and this honour is shared by his colleague Milne as well as by Raffles, the great Christian Empire Builder.

Nearer Singapore, Siam, which, in their days, was a closed land, on the 3rd of January, 1916, had its king lay the foundation stone of the University of Siam.

Netherlands India, too, is moving to higher education for the native races, who were the special wards of the care and regard of Sir Stamford. At the Hague on August 28th, 1916, the Minister for the Colonies, Mr. Th. B. Pleyte, said that much had been done for the education of the natives. In contrast, as showing the past with present policy, he mentioned that, in 1855, elementary teaching was given to 17,000 pupils, and in 1915 to 700,000, of whom 600,000 were natives of the soil. The best people in Holland now desire that the Javanese, and others in their colonies, should get the best education that they can profit by. By this generous policy the tone of native society will be gradually raised, and, as in all lands, the cream will come to the top. In matters of land tenure, agriculture, industries and commerce they will get their fullest chance. There can be no longer any deliberate depressing of native races. There will be, rather, equality of opportunity for all.

CHAPTER XVII.

RAFFLES' FAREWELL TO SUNNY SINGAPORE.

WHAT is now Fort Canning was the site of the first Government House. Here in 1823 Sir Stamford wrote: "We have lately built a small bungalow on Singapore Hill, where though the height is inconsiderable, we find a difference of climate. Nothing can be more interesting and beautiful than the view from this spot. I am happy to say the change has had a very beneficial effect on my health, which has been better during the last fortnight than I have known it for two years."

"The tombs of the Malay kings are, however, close at hand: and I settled that, if my fate is to die here, I shall take my place among them: this will, at any rate, be better than leaving one's bones at Bencoolen. If it please God, we still live in the hope of embarking for Europe towards the end of the year."

"I am laying out a botanic and experimental garden, and it would delight you to see how rapidly the whole country is coming under cultivation. My residence here has naturally given much confidence, and the extent of the speculations entered into by the Chinese quite astonishes me."

At the same time he playfully adds:—"I have built a very comfortable house, which is sufficient to accommodate my sister's family as well as our own: I only wish you were here but for half an

hour to enjoy the unequalled beauty and interest of the scene. My house, which is one hundred feet front, and fifty deep, was finished in a fortnight from its commencement. When will our cottage be done?"

To his friend, Dr. Wallich of the Botanic Garden, Calcutta, he writes, telling about doings in Singapore. First he refers to some matters of his letter and says:—"Your principles are too pure, and your heart too warm, to encounter the shafts of ridicule which envy and malice may fling at you. These are the weapons of the heartless and unprincipled: of those who have no sympathy with the feelings of others, no consideration for their happiness, no common feelings for the common benefits of mankind. Never mind, '*magna est veritas et prevalebit*,' and truth is virtue. You must recollect my warning. We live in a strange world. Unfortunately in the political part of it we are often obliged to smother feelings: this I say in my own defence, lest you think I do not sufficiently espouse your cause. My heart and soul are with you, and therefore you may judge how I feel."

"The slave master and slave debtor system seems to have been permitted here to an unlimited extent. I have not finally decided upon the question, but I am much inclined to think the wisest and safest plan will be to do in this as I did in other lands, and that is annul all that has gone before. This establishment was formed long after the enactments of the British legislature, which made it felony to import slaves into a British colony, and both importers and exporters are

alike, guilty to say nothing of the British authority who countenances the trade.

“ I am now in negotiation with Dr. Morrison for the transfer of the Anglo-Chinese College from Malacca to this place, and its union with my proposed Malay College, under the general designation of the ‘ Singapore Institution.’ ” This was not carried out as Sir Stamford had hoped and planned. The institution at Malacca was continued by the London Missionary Society till 1843, when, on the opening of the treaty ports in China, the Principal, Dr. James Legge, and his colleagues were transferred to Hong Kong and Amoy.

Sir Stamford Raffles had this exceedingly gratifying letter, from the Bengal Government, on the eve of leaving :—

“ Fort William, March 29, 1823.

“ The first question for consideration is the nature of the control to be exercised henceforth over the affairs of Singapore, and the proceedings of the local Resident.” Then follow the details, which will always be of living interest to all who can let their imagination live, touched with the historic sense, in those days of the past of Singapore.

“ There is a general impression that the prosperity of Singapore must in a degree be attended with a proportionate deterioration of Penang. As far as information furnished by the records of the custom-house of the latter place affords the means of judging, it would not appear that this has been the case : but there is no doubt that the feeling prevails among the inhabitants of both settlements

generally : there seems no advantage to be contemplated in rendering Singapore dependent on Penang. The systems of government and the principles of commercial policy prevailing at both places are radically different, and it is not reasonable to expect that each could be administered under the direction of a subordinate and limited authority with equal effect."

"On the occasion of relieving Sir Stamford Raffles from the superintendence of Singapore, the Governor-General in Council deems it an act of justice to that gentleman to record his sense of the activity, zeal, judgment, and attention to the principles prescribed for the management of the settlement, which has marked his conduct in the execution of that duty. On placing Mr. Crawford in charge of Singapore, you will be pleased to communicate with him fully on all points."

Lady Raffles then gives a short extract of her husband's report to the Bengal Government, which will show the reasons which guided him on drawing up the regulations :—

"First I declare the port of Singapore is a free port, and the trade thereof open to ships and vessels of every nation, free of duty, equally and alike to all." What follows bears the stamp of the great Christian, far-sighted statesman that he was, and history has proved him to have been.

"I am satisfied that nothing has tendered more to the discomfort and constant jarrings, which have hitherto occurred in our remote settlements, than the policy which has dictated the exclusion of the European merchants from all share, much less credit, in the domestic regulations of the settle-

ment, of which they are frequently its most important members. Some degree of legislative power must necessarily exist in every distant dependency. The laws of the mother country cannot be commensurate with the wants of the dependency : it has wants of which a remote legislature can very imperfectly judge, and which are sometimes too urgent to admit the delay of reference."

" It may be expected that I should explain the grounds on which I have felt myself authorised to go, even as far as I have done, in legislating, and constituting a power of legislating provisionally for Singapore, and, at the same time, state the mode in which I considered the legislative and judicial branch of the public administration can be best provided for, in any permanent arrangement to be made by the authorities at home."

" I shall briefly state that an actual and urgent necessity existed for some immediate and provisional arrangements : and that, in adopting those which I have established, it has been my endeavour, while I give all due weight to local considerations, to adhere, as closely as possible, to the principles which from immemorial usage have been considered the most essential and sacred parts of the British Constitution. The peculiar tenure on which Singapore is at present politically held, the unusual degree of responsibility still resting on me personally, and the actual circumstances under which a large population and extensive capital have been accumulated under my administration, naturally called upon me to adopt all such provisional measures as necessity might

dictate. More than this I have not attempted : and I should have but ill fulfilled the high and important trust reposed in me, if, after having congregated so large a portion of my fellow creatures, I had left them without something like law and regulation for their security and comfort ?”

Raffles appointed magistrates and juries, not merely for punishment, but, as far as possible, for the prevention of crime. He prohibited gambling and cock-fighting, and declared these illegal. The Bengal Government highly approved of this effort to check vice, but no sooner was Sir Stamford away to England, than Crawford, to his eternal disgrace, and anxious to raise a revenue at any cost, and in what he considered an easy way, established licenses for the free and open indulgence of both vices. Following the example of Rome, in its declining days of ease and degeneracy, Crawford farmed out the various vices and weaknesses of the people to the highest bidders. This evil system, thus introduced, lasted until quite recently until the Government, acting under instructions from home, abolished the farms for drink and opium, and took over the control of both as Government monopolies. This will eventually enable the powers-that-be (i.e., the final and intelligent will of the people of the British Empire) to deal effectively with these, when the time comes, which surely cannot tarry much longer. Things may lag for many a day, but the end will come at long last with a decision, short, sharp, and beyond question.

Slavery, gambling and other vices have been dealt with in the colony, and in the Federated

Malay States, in recent years, but opium must soon be legislated out of existence in the same areas, unless we are to have the shame of being miles behind China and Japan. That some opium is still grown in China, and that the Japanese still tolerate it for the Chinese in Formosa, is no reason why we should not wash our own hands clean from the foul thing in our own colony, and throughout Malaya, which has been opened out, for the benefit of ourselves, as well as for their great advantage, too, and all the world is the better for the Chinese being in Malaya, from a material point of view, but how much better for the manhood of the Chinese if opium had been kept out, as Raffles intended it should, and as the Japanese decided it would have to be kept out of Japan, when once again she opened her ports to trade with the world.

On the departure of Sir Stamford from Singapore, the whole community, headed by the leading European and Asiatic merchants, expressed their sense of indebtedness to the founder of Singapore : “ At such a moment we cannot be suspected of panegyric, when we advert to the distinguished advantages which the commercial interests of our nation at large, and ourselves more especially, have from your personal exertions. To your unwearied zeal, your vigilance, and your comprehensive views we owe at once the foundation and maintenance of a settlement unparalleled for the liberality of the principles on which it has been established : principles, the operation of which have converted, in a period, short beyond all example, a haunt of pirates into the abode of enterprise, security and

opulence. While we acknowledge our own peculiar obligations to you, we reflect at the same time with pride and satisfaction upon the active and beneficent means by which you have promoted and patronised the diffusion of intellectual and moral improvement, and we anticipate, with confidence, their happy influence in advancing the cause of humanity and civilization. We cannot take leave of the author of so many benefits without emotion, and without expressing our sorrow for the loss of his protection and his society. Accept, Sir, we beseech you, without distinction of tribe or nation, the expression of our sincere respect and esteem, and be assured of the deep interest we shall ever take in your prosperity, as well as in the happiness of those who are tenderly related to you."

Raffles suitably replied, and among other things thanked the merchants for helping him to found the Institution. He then said of the Singapore merchant what has always been generally true of them—"The liberal manner in which you came forward to spare from your hard earnings so large a portion would at once stamp the character of the Singapore merchant, even if it did not daily come forward on more ostensible occasions."

Lady Raffles and her husband sailed from Singapore on the 9th of June, 1823. They touched at Batavia, and stayed at Bencoolen for a few months. From there he wrote that should he reach England alive, nothing would induce him to return to the East. He had already passed nearly thirty years of his life in the Company's service, and had always been placed in situations of so much responsibility that his mind was ever on the

stretch, and never without some serious anxiety. Fresh trials had to be faced in Bencoolen. Sickness and death came carrying off his few remaining personal friends. His own health broke down again, if indeed he ever regained it.

But he was a brave man, true and unbendable, and he refused to be crushed by the weight of his great burdens. He was a Christian, as his wife put it, and believed that all that had happened, or could come, was only for his good. Lady Raffles' firm faith and ever ready help greatly sustained him. She, too, was a martyr to malarial fever, but in those days people daily fought for their lives, and had to remain at their posts more than is binding nowadays of ready communication. Then came the last sad blow in the death of their only remaining child, which was a terrible shock to the mother.

In all this trouble they waited week after week for the "Fame," the ship that was to take them home, and no news of her came. The weeks got into months but still no "Fame" arrived. Raffles at last was about to aim for a passage by another ship when the "Fame" at last came in. On the 2nd of February at daylight, with a fair wind, they set sail for England. That very night there was a cry raised that the ship was on fire. The boats were lowered, and pushed off from the vessel as quickly as possible, as there was powder on board, which could not be got hold of to throw overboard.

Sir Stamford writes a thrilling account of what took place. In less than ten minutes after the alarm the ship was in flames: within that time all

the souls were off the vessel: in ten minutes more she was one great mass of fire.

“ There was not time for anyone to think of more than two things . ‘ Can the ship be saved ? No. Let us consider ourselves.’ All else was swallowed up in one grand ruin.” After a feverishly anxious night, fearing that they might have to face starvation and exposure in the blazing hot sun by day, and the cold, without clothing, by night, for they had retired to their cabins, and were in undress. But daylight came bringing them the welcome sight of land, which proved to be the coast and Rat Island. About eight o’clock they saw a ship standing to them from the Roads, and boats came to their rescue. Among these whom Raffles recognised first was one of his missionary friends, whom he describes as a minister of Providence in the character of a minister of the Gospel. The cry of one and all was—‘ God be praised ! ’ ”

Afterwards, in writing an account of this untoward event to the Court of Directors, he enters into a number of very interesting details :—“ Submitting, as it is my duty to do, with patient resignation to this awful dispensation of Providence, I make the following statement, not in the spirit of complaint, for I repine not, but simply as illustrative of my personal circumstances and prospects, as they stand affected by this dire and unlooked for calamity. After a service of nearly thirty years, and the exercise of supreme authority as Governor for nearly twelve of that period over the finest and most interesting, but perhaps least-known countries in creation, I had as I vainly thought, closed my Indian life with

benefit to my country, and satisfaction to myself, carrying with me such testimonials and information as, I trusted, would have proved that I had not been an unprofitable servant, or dilatory labourer in this fruitful and extensive vineyard."

Then follows a brief sketch of his life in the Company's service, with special reference to his administration of Java, and what he had to contend with on taking his stand at Singapore as against Dutch rapacity and power "In addition to avowed enemies to British power and Christian principles, I had to contend with deep-rooted prejudices, and the secret machinations of those who dared not act openly: and standing alone, the envy of some and the fear of many, distant authorities were unable to form a correct estimate of my proceedings. Without local explanations some appeared objectionable, while party spirit and Dutch intrigue have never been wanting to discolour transactions and misrepresent facts."

He had lost on board the "Fame" his endless volumes and papers of information on the civil and natural history of nearly every island within the Malayan Archipelago, collected at great expense and labour, under the most favourable circumstances, during a life of constant and active research, and in an especial manner calculated to throw light not only on the commercial and other resources of the islands, but to advance the state of natural knowledge and science, and finally to extend the civilization of mankind. These, with all his books, manuscripts, drawings, correspondence, records, and other documents, including

tokens of regard from the absent, and memorials from the dead, had all been destroyed in the dreadful conflagration : and—most pathetic tale to tell—he adds : “ I am left single and unaided, without the help of one voucher to tell my story, and uphold my proceedings, when I appear before your honourable Court.” He then gives from memory a short statement of what had gone up in flame, or to the bottom of the sea forever.

“ Of Sumatra—a map on a large scale, constructed during a residence of six years, calculated to exhibit, at one view, the real nature and general resources of the country, together with statistical reports, tables, memoirs, notices, histories of the Battaks, and other original tribes and races, native and European vocabularies, dictionaries, and manuscripts in the different languages. Of Borneo—a detailed account of the former history, present state, population and resources of that long neglected island, drawn out to the extent of upwards of one thousand pages of writing, with numerous notes, sketches, details of the Dyak population, their government, customs, history, usages, etc., with notices of the different ports, their produce, and commercial resources.”

“ Of Celebes—nearly a similar account. And of Java and the Moluccas—the whole of the voluminous history, as carefully abstracted from the Dutch archives while I was in Java, with careful translations of the most valuable books, vocabularies, memoirs, and various papers intended principally to assist in a new edition of my History of Java. Of Singapore—a detailed account of its establishment : the principles on which it is

founded : the policy of our Government in founding it : the history of the commerce in the Eastern Islands : its present state and prospects : the rapid rise of Singapore : its history until I gave over charge : with all the original documents connected with the discussion with the Dutch, and every voucher and testimony which could have been required to make good the British claim, and uphold the measures I had adopted.”

“ In Natural History Indeed it would be endless for me to attempt even a general description of all that has perished a loss like this can never be replaced, but I bow to it without repining.” He then says that he is compelled, meanwhile, to take up the duties again at Bencoolen, until he knows what to do. And, in closing this official communication, he pays a well deserved tribute to those who had proved themselves such friends in need in his distress.

Lady Raffles tells how the loss of all things far from taking all the spring out of his life, simply seemed to spur him on to more arduous labours. The very next morning he recommenced sketching the map of Sumatra, and began work on natural history. The following Lord’s Day he publicly returned thanks to Almighty God for having preserved the lives of all those who had for some time contemplated a death from which there appeared no human probability of escaping.

Once more the party embarked, on April 8, 1824, in the “ Mariner.” He drew up a time-table as to how he would spend his time on board in study and writing, to which he gave eight hours a day, with the intention of making up one day for

any lost time on another. This, as his wife put it, afforded another proof that the energy of his mind was not shaken, nor the buoyancy of his spirit broken, though his health had received a severe shock by the great calamity. His reading and study on Sundays were confined to the Bible and religious subjects, including the Hebrew and Greek languages.

On the 25th of June the ship arrived at St. Helena (where he met Napoleon) after a passage of eleven weeks from Bencoolen. She had encountered constant and severe gales off the Cape of Good Hope during three weeks. Sir Stamford and Lady Raffles stayed at Plantation House until the ship again weighed anchor for England on July the 3rd. They crossed the Line on the 12th of the same month. On the 20th of August this great and noble man, after his epoch making labours, landed with his party at Plymouth all safe and sound.

The father at once hurried off with Lady Raffles to see their child at Cheltenham, and they were delighted to find her all that their fondest wishes could desire. Unfortunately, the reaction set in, and Sir Stamford had several months of serious illness, which interfered with his movements. Of plans he seemed to have none very definitely fixed, though he often expressed to his close friends his liking to be a farmer. But he engaged himself daily as he was able in doing what he could for the objects which he cared for. Pleasure and ease were not for what he aimed at, but much higher ends, which were the source of unfailing joy and pleasure to him, who had had so literally spent himself, and that most willingly for others.

To the Duchess of Somerset he writes frankly, and besides speaking of his home life, which was very happy, he tells of his correspondence with the East India Company, also of having put the new maps, of Sumatra and Singapore, into the hands of an artist, to be constructed and engraved on a scale to suit a quarto volume. In another letter to the same lady he says he had taken her kind advice and was " idling and playing the fool " with his times as much as possible. But we know that would not mean much, for he, who had been a hard worker all his days, could not be a mere idler, or waste any time in doing nothing.

He wrote at considerable length to the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in whose work he was keenly interested. Lady Raffles remarks that Sir Stamford had always held the view that the idea of converting the peoples of India by preaching only was fallacious. His conviction was that the best means of securing the ingathering of converts was to civilize and instruct the people, and, together with civilization and instruction, convey to them the truths of the Gospel, trusting that God, in His own good time, would bestow upon them that faith in the Redeemer, without which all knowledge is vain.

In after years, the undertaking of giving India a Christian education in English was the special privilege of the Church of Scotland through their pioneer missionary, the justly celebrated Dr. Alexander Duff. The present writer heard him, in his old age, the year before he died, address a group of students for an hour without a break. He told of the steps which had led him to put into the

hands of the peoples of India, by the teaching of English, the key of a great literature, which he said was so saturated by Christian thought and sentiment that it could not but unlock the supreme treasures of the English translation of the Bible, which, he held, was one of the chief glories of the English language. But Dr. Duff was equally desirous of having the Scriptures in the vernaculars of the different tribes and peoples.

Raffles, in his letter to the Bible Society, spoke of the labours of Dr. Robert Morrison in translating the Scriptures into Chinese, and more particularly of the advantage that there would be in the appointment of an agent to proceed to Singapore, from which centre to work China and the different parts of the East. No agent, however, was stationed at Singapore till 1882. But it must be remembered that a great deal was done in China by Gutzlaff and others from 1830 till the opening of the treaty ports to missions in 1842, when all the Protestant missionaries in Malaya were sent on to China, which left Singapore, and all the Eastern islands, almost entirely in the hands of the Roman Church for well-nigh forty years.

It will ever be to the credit of the founder of Singapore that he was also the founder, and the first president of the Zoological Gardens. It was he who suggested its formation to Sir Humphrey Davy, and, with the patronage of other eminent men, the thing was done. Sir Stamford said he looked mainly not to numbers, for the character of the institution, but to the proportion of men of science and sound principles, who began the enter-

prise. He personally looked more to the scientific part of it, and said he would transfer to it the collections in natural history which he had managed to bring home.

In spite of persistent illnesses he continued to take a lively interest in various scientific, educational, and, not least, missionary societies, as his correspondence shows.

Writing to the Rev. Dr. Raffles, he tells that he with his devoted wife were happily settled in High Wood, near Barnet, in the north of London, where he spent the last two years of his life. "We are here, thank God, once more out of the trammels and disorders of a London life. . . . Let me have a line from you when you reach Highbury, should you stop by the way at Barnet. I generally go to town once a week. We suffer a little from the heat: but as we hope to make our hay in the course of next week, I do not complain. High Wood is now in its best dress, and will, I am sure, please you. My neighbour, Mr. Wilberforce, takes possession to-morrow, and will previously spend the day with us."

This was the last letter that Sir Stamford wrote that his widow was able to make extracts from. It was written on June 15, 1826. A few weeks later, on July 5, his eager, but sorely worn spirit had taken its flight where work brings no weariness. He died on the day previous to the celebration of his forty-fifth year.

These concluding words of Lady Raffles will best close the record of his life's history:—

"The period of two years, which Sir Stamford had now spent in England, had rapidly passed

away : for who takes note of the days of happiness ? It was his often expressed hope that he had experienced sufficient trial to purify his soul : and it is humbly trusted that the many and heavy afflictions, with which he was visited, were sanctified by the grace of God, and were made instrumental, through faith in a Saviour, to prepare him for the world where sorrow and sighing are no more."

The few letters which have been introduced in the last pages, are sufficient to prove that the death-blow had been struck—the silver chord was broken at the wheel. His sense of enjoyment, indeed, was as keen as ever, his spirit as gay, his heart as warm, his imagination still brighter, though his hope for this world were still less. He was content with the happiness of the present moment, and only prayed for its continuance. That his prayer was not granted is his everlasting gain ; yet even here, and after so many trials and privations, he enjoyed no common pleasures : the delight of being united to friends from whom he had long been separated : the charms of society : the interests of literature and science : the general improvement of man : and, above all, the nearer charities of domestic life, all combined to engage and occupy his mind, and his heart was full of enjoyment : and in the retirement for which he had so long sighed, and surrounded by all the ties which it had pleased God to spare him, he indulged his happy spirit. In the midst of all the best of worldly treasures, in the bosom of his family, that spirit, which had won its way through a greatly chequered career, was suddenly summoned to the throne of God.

* * * * *

So long as the silent stars look down on the beautiful island of Singapore, I think, now, his name shall be held in grateful remembrance by succeeding generations of those who will dwell here, even though his name was, for many long years, left in neglect by his countrymen for whom he had done so much.

He was buried at Hendon Church, but for many years he lay in an unknown grave, and only quite recently was this grave discovered, and then only by accident. It has now been honoured by those merchants of the present day, who have realised their deep debt to the founder of this great centre of the immense possibilities of British Malaya.

Should a day ever dawn on this earth when his work here shall be utterly forgotten, he shall still be among the ranks of the wise and the righteous who lived and laboured to bless his fellow-men. His shall be the

EVERLASTING MEMORIAL.

“ His name, and his place, and his tomb all forgotten,
The brief race of time well and patiently run,
Unthought of by man, in rewards or in praises, -
He shall still be remembered, by what he has done.”

THE END.



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